THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

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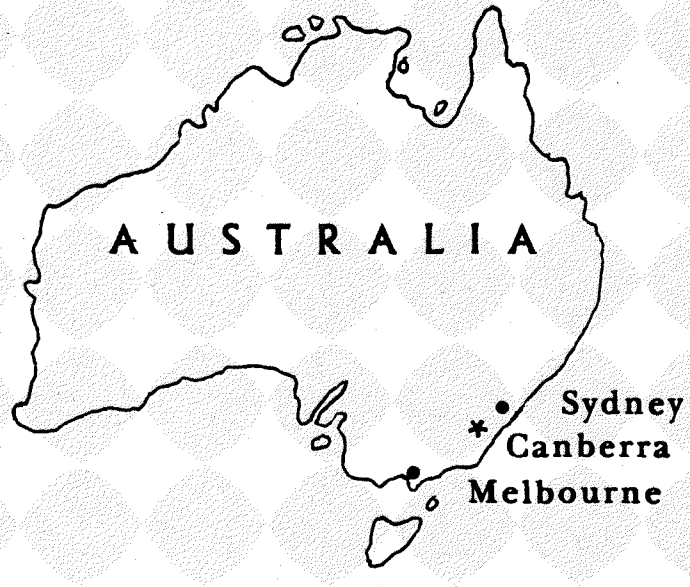
A Case Study of the New World Disorder



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About The Social Contract

The English philosopher John Locke, whose thinking helped inspire the American revolution, said that society should be governed by an understood set of values he termed "the social contract." Under the social contract, governments have obligations to their citizens, and citizens have responsibilities to society.

Most great public issues are basically moral and ethical ones. What is the right thing to do? How do we decide what we think is right? When "rights" collide, which ones take precedence? The concept of the social contract helps us sort out the difficult issues confronting American society today and helps us find balance.

Each quarter, **The Social Contract** journal examines trends, events and ideas that could unravel America's delicate social fabric. Key topics addressed by this journal:

- *Human population issues, including absolute size, rate of growth and distribution.* Do cherished American ideals prosper or suffer through further population growth?
- *Immigration issues.* In order to best facilitate meeting the highest goals of the American people, (1) how many immigrants should we admit? (2) who should be admitted, and (3) how can we humanely enforce the rules?
- *Language, assimilation, culture and national unity considerations.* What are the shared values necessary to the maintenance of our social contract?
- *The balance of individual rights and civic responsibilities.* Since the previous issues are so often framed in terms of rights, what are the balancing obligations?
- *Other nations' efforts at guarding or creating their own social contracts.* What practical insight can be gained from observing the failures and successes in nation-building by other societies?

The Social Contract explores these complex and interrelated issues with articles varying greatly in outlook and philosophy in the attempt to further vigorous public debate.

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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

Vol. VIII, No. 2 Winter 1997-98

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Letter from the Editor

Widening the Circle

Starting with the Fall 1997 issue of our magazine we have been soliciting a guest editor for many of our issues. For that number we were delighted to have the assistance of Larry Harrison, who pulled together the section on Ethics and Migration. For this current issue, we asked Joseph W. Smith and Mark Uhlmann to help us compile materials on immigration to Australia, highlighting aspects of the debate in their country that have relevance for other immigrant-receiving nations around the world. Dr. Smith is a researcher at the University of Adelaide and Uhlmann is a journalist in Canberra, the Australian capital. The hope, of course, is that we can learn something applicable to our situation here in North America, while still producing a journal that would be useful for our colleagues in Australia— where 1,000 extra copies are being prepared for distribution.

There is an astonishing correlation of issues and concerns between North America and our colleagues on the other side of the equator. Uhlmann and Smith open with a comment on the crisis in Australian identity, and Mark O'Connor writes of the P.C. phenomenon that has taken root there as well. Katharine Betts essays on the perennial topic of population policy, particularly appropriate in the bicentennial year of the famous essay on population by Thomas Malthus. (The actual anniversary date is June 7.)

Lest anyone doubt the relevance of the demographic factor, Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir follows up with a threat to use the Third World's population as the ultimate weapon, and inundate the West with people. To understand the Australian's concern about population swamping, keep in mind that, to the north, India alone increases its population by about 18 million a year — roughly equal to the *total* Australian population, which is the product of over 200 *years* of European settlement. Other Australian neighbors include China and Indonesia, respectively the first and fourth most populous countries on the globe.

Abe Wheelwright sees Australia as a "client state," calling to mind Sen. Eugene McCarthy's book on the United States entitled *Colony to the World.* Uhlmann draws parallels to other nations, and physician Rod Spencer questions the government's numbers on how many immigrants are coming in, both legally and illegally. We then hear about reverse racism from the dean of Australian historians, Geoffrey Blainey, and from our Australian correspondent Denis McCormack on the "Asianization" of his country. The guest-edited section closes with a report on a good will trip to several Asian capitals on which McCormack accompanied Graeme Campbell, a member of the Australian House of Representatives.

In the center section of this issue there is a bridging article on Chinese migration to the U.S., and an excellent piece by Charlie Reese on some of the erroneous ideas that the "elites" are using in managing our society. There are articles on the Religious Persecution bill now before Congress, on the changing French national consciousness, and the cultural divide in California. Jim Walsh gives us another case study from his immigration fraud notebook.

How to characterize the book review section? There are three synoptic reviews covering ten related books, and two individual reviews — all very provocative material on tomes you will want to know about and can get a taste of in this abbreviated form.

Looking ahead, the Spring 1998 feature section edited by John Vinson will be on the subject of "Europhobia" and David Simcox will assemble materials on secure personal identification for the Winter 1998-99 edition. Meanwhile, the Summer issue will be devoted to the bicentennial of the Malthus essay.

We think you'll want to read this current issue just about in its entirety!

JOHN H. TANTON
Editor and Publisher

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Introduction by our guest editors

Australian Identity Crisis:
A Case Study for the New World Disorder

Your sons and daughters will be given to another nation, and you will wear out your eyes watching for them day after day, powerless to lift a hand. A people that you do not know will eat what your land and labor produce, and you will have nothing but cruel oppression all your days. The sights you see will drive you mad.... The alien who lives among you will rise above you higher and higher, but you will sink lower and lower. He will lend to you, but you will not lend to him. He will be the head, but you will be the tail.

— Deuteronomy 28:32-34, 43-44

Immigration, multiculturalism and a fashionable belief in an Asian destiny have produced a heated debate about Australia's future and what it is to be an Australian.[1]

Far from being of interest only to Australians, this identity crisis is of relevance to all New World settler nations, particularly the English-speaking countries: the United States, Canada and New Zealand.[2]

The north-east Asian region is predicted to emerge as an economic powerhouse in the next century.[3] At the same time most of the world's population growth will occur in Asia. No settler nation of basically European stock is geographically closer to the heart of Asia than Australia. The largest Muslim nation on earth, Indonesia, with a population of over 207 million, is literally on its doorstep.

The impacts of economic and social changes in Asia will be felt, if not first, then most dramatically in Australia, with its population of about 18 million. It is now, and will be, a valuable case study for other Europoean settler nations in how to handle — and how not to handle — engagement with Asian nations.

Since its formation Australia has battled to come to terms with its geography. It responded first by excluding Asians. These days, among the elites, the fashion has gone to the opposite extreme, to the point where they have claimed that Australia is "part of Asia" and must embrace its "Asian destiny."

Australia is unique in that it is a Western nation next to "the Far East." As former Prime Minister Robert Menzies said: "the Far East is to us the near north." Far from reveling in this uniqueness, Australian elites seem determined to erase it in a bid to "fit in" in the region.

At the same time European settlement in Australia is presented as a history of guilt, not only because of the past immigration policies, but because of the treatment of the indigenous, Aboriginal population. This distorted history of guilt is used as a political weapon to undermine the moral right of Europeans to continue to possess the country. The elites exhibit little concern about the real welfare of the Aboriginal people.

"Far from being of interest only to Australians, this identity crisis is of relevance to all New World settler nations, particularly the English-speaking countries: the United States, Canada and New Zealand."

This edition of THE SOCIAL CONTRACT provides a critique of the Asian-destiny school. Articles include critiques of immigration, multiculturalism, the guilt history school and economic globalization. An alternative vision is provided in which Australia asserts its European traditions and seeks to enhance its national sovereignty while remaining outward-looking and seeking good relations with Asian nations.

There are differences in emphasis in these articles and not all the writers would agree on a set

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course that Australia should follow (and the views expressed are those of the authors), but these articles do criticize the current orthodoxy and will provide valuable points of comparison for North Americans in particular. While Australia is a unique nation-continent there are many similar features to our experiences.

MARK UHLMANN
JOSEPH WAYNE SMITH
Guest Editors

[1] K. Betts, *Ideology and Immigration*, (Melbourne University Press, Carlton, Victoria, 1988); R. Birrell, *A Nation of Our Own*, (Longman, Melbourne, 1995).[Both books are available from the Social Contract Press, 1-800-352-4843.]

[2] See J. W. Smith, G. Lyons and E. Moore, *Global Meltdown: Immigration, Multiculturalism and National Breakdown in the New World Disorder*, (Praeger, Westport Connecticut, forthcoming), and *The End of the Modern Age: Race, Nation and Global Anarchy into the Third Millennium*, (Macmillan, London, forthcoming).

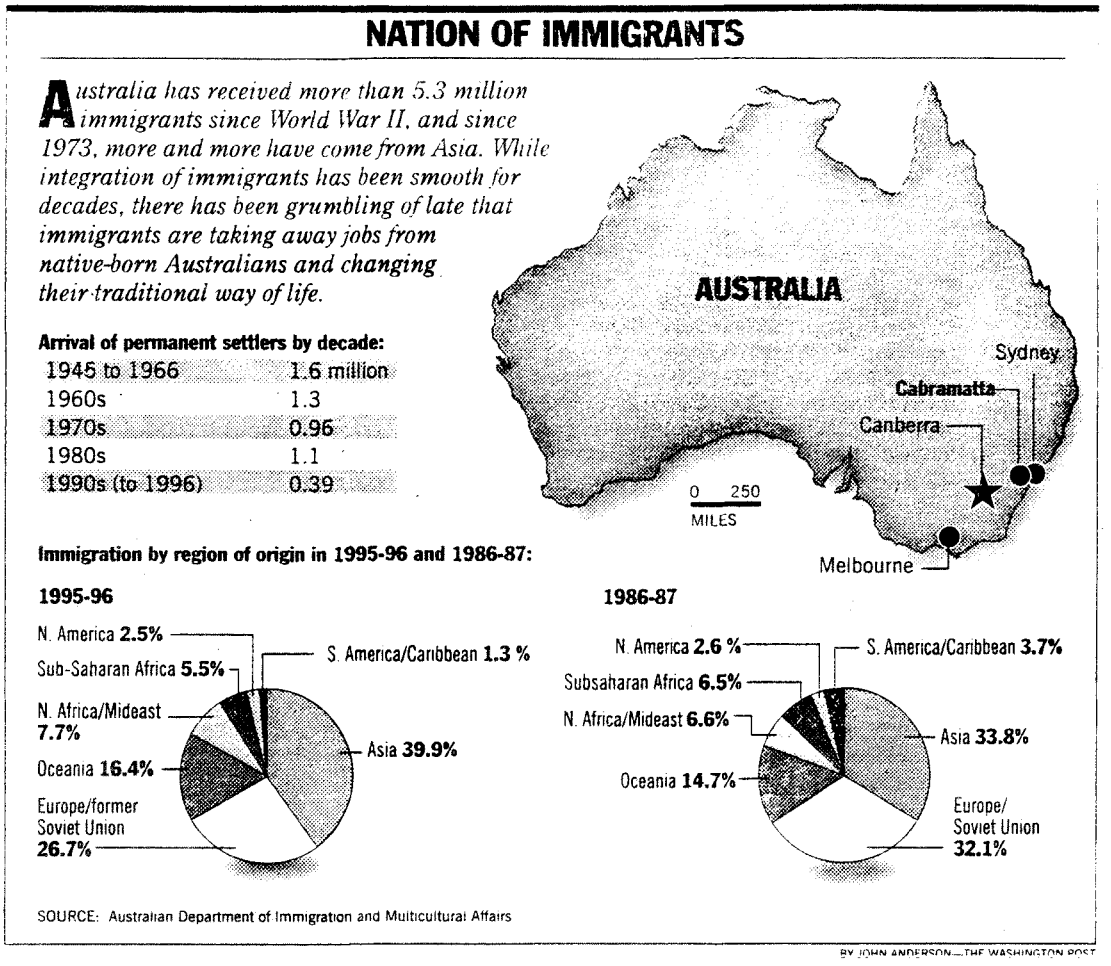
[3] Huntington, Samuel P., *The Clash of Civilizations and the Re-Making of the World Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996).

About the Guest Editors

MARK UHLMANN is a Canberra-based journalist and writer. He is author, along with Graeme Campbell, of *Australia Betrayed*, (Foundation Press, Victoria Park, Western Australia, 1995).

JOSEPH WAYNE SMITH is Senior Research Fellow in the Department of Geography, the University of Adelaide.

[NOTE: A special 1,000-copy run of this issue is being printed in Australia and will be available in that country for circulation to politicians, academics, journalists, activists, and interested parties.]


NATION OF IMMIGRANTS
Australia has received more than 5.3 million immigrants since World War II, and since 1973, more and more have come from Asia. While integration of immigrants has been smooth for decades, there has been grumbling of late that immigrants are taking away jobs from native-born Australians and changing their traditional way of life.
Arrival of permanent settlers by decade:
1945 to 1966 1.6 million
1960s 1.3
1970s 0.96
1980s 1.1
1990s (to 1996) 0.39
AUSTRALIA
Sydney
Cabramatta
Canberra
0 250
MILES
Melbourne
Immigration by region of origin in 1995-96 and 1986-87:
1995-96
N. America 2.5%
Sub-Saharan Africa 5.5%
N. Africa/Mideast 7.7%
Oceania 16.4%
Europe/former Soviet Union 26.7%
S. America/Caribbean 1.3 %
Asia 39.9%
1986-87
N. America 2.6 %
Subsaharan Africa 6.5%
N. Africa/Mideast 6.6%
Oceania 14.7%
S. America/Caribbean 3.7%
Asia 33.8%
Europe/ Soviet Union 32.1%
SOURCE: Australian Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs
BY JOHN ANDERSON—THE WASHINGTON POST

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Where Does the PC Line on Immigration Come From?

Occupying the moral high ground

by Mark O'Connor

FOREWORD

As a member of a group dedicated to reducing Australia's population growth, I worry that Australia over the past 15 years has had by far the world's highest per capita immigration rate. Luckily we seem to have turned a corner, and our net immigration (if you believe the lowest of the figures being put out by government sources)may now be only 50,000 a year, which is a little over one-third of our net natural increase (i.e. the excess of total births over total deaths — currently about 142,000 persons annually). Clearly our first priority now should be to work on attitudes as to family size.

Yet immigration remains important. It sends a most negative message to the community. How can the ordinary citizen see having a small family as a contribution to the community's well-being when he or she must also watch (and pay taxes to help) the government increasing our population through immigration? Indeed the Department of Immigration has favorably cited a recommendation from the growth economist John Neville that if the birthrate falls or stays low then immigration should be increased to compensate for this.

Clearly we environmentalists must question the rather bizarre assumptions on which the immigration debate is conducted. How can it be "selfish" to resist immigration yet be enormously to our benefit to take in immigrants? How could former Prime Minister Keating simultaneously claim immigration benefits the economy yet want to charge New Zealand for dole payments to our NZ immigrants? How can it be "racist" to want to control immigration when most immigrants, especially until the last few years, have been of the same Caucasian race as the overwhelming majority of Australians? How is it that when we have rescued people whose own countries or cultures have failed them, we are so often and so complacently told by "ethnic leaders" that we are in their debt rather than they in ours?

Similar questions are asked in the United States. In October 1993 I was an invited guest at the annual conference of FAIR, the Federation for American Immigration Reform. At its final session Professor Otis Graham from the History Faculty at Santa Barbara (CA) spoke brilliantly about the internal contradictions of the USA's current official (or politically correct or PC) line on immigration. Subsequently he was asked how such self-contradictory positions had become established as dogma. He answered, "I simply don't know — I wish someone would explain it to me."

Later in the discussion I offered a rather tentative explanation in the form of a very simplified "story" of how these positions may have been reached. I wasn't very sure how complete or accurate this story (or theory) was, either as a comment on American or even on Australian history; but several of those present, including Professor Graham, pressed me to write it down and publish it. So here it is, still tentative, but a little more fleshed out.

Perhaps our "politically correct" attitudes to immigration come from particular conditions produced in the decay of 1960s and 1970s radicalism. Sociologists like Alvin Gouldner and Katharine Betts have pointed out the paradox that entire groups of the tertiary-educated, who once saw themselves as anti-establishment radicals in fierce opposition to the values of their parents, have now moved up the social system and are running bureaucracies and governments. The old "anti-establishment," these scholars imply, now runs the establishment.

This is clearer in Australia where the more left-wing of the two major parties has won the last five

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***Mark O'Connor** is a professional poet, vice-president of Australians for An Ecologically Sustainable Population (AESP) and convener for Writers for an Ecologically Sustainable Population. The paper was given to the Fourth National Conference of the Federation of Ethnic Community Councils of Australia (FECCA) on December 7, 1996 in Adelaide. FECCA is a major promoter of multiculturalism and immigration in Australia.*

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elections. (In the U.S., the Bush and Reagan years prevented there being quite such a conspiratorial left-wing tone to the current bureaucratic power group.) Many such people were among those who "saw the light" in the Sixties and Seventies but then in the Eighties, when they were getting a little complacent, were offered money instead — "the money or the light?" — until they eventually chose the money.

They were also (again, this is more clearly true in Australia than in the U.S.) the first generation in which easy access to tertiary education became open to a meritocracy of the talented.

Gouldner and Betts[1] see this new ruling class as differing from a traditional aristocracy in that it does not depend on inherited wealth. Its capital is largely intellectual capital, represented by its tertiary degrees. It sees itself as a meritocracy; and one gains admission to this class not by inheritance or descent but by having the appropriate skills — *and* the correct opinions. Let us accept this term "New Class" on probation, for the moment, and see what we can do with it. (Luckily this is not a matter of speculating about some poorly known and distantly observed group; it is essentially my own class I am talking about, and includes many of my own friends and former class mates. Reading this, they may well complain that I have "turned conservative," though, oddly enough, I believe that it is they who have done so.)

"[This New Class] sees itself as a meritocracy; and one gains admission to this class not by inheritance or descent but by having the appropriate skills — and the correct opinions."

In Australia in the 1980s, many members of this class entered the bureaucracy and went on to earn degrees in economics, often training in the most cynical of economic rationalist schools (like that of the Australian National University). Thus, underneath the cement of avowed radicalism which binds the new ruling class together (serving as their meal ticket and union card) is sometimes a guilty conscience about having betrayed so many of their utopian and Aquarian ideals — for this was a generation whose hopes went far beyond the dull obviousness of social justice. The triumphalism of their politics often reflected the lyrics from the musical *Hair*: "This is the dawning of the Age of Aquarius" — an age of transcendent and psychedelic possibilities, of trusting the universe, and of release from constraints.

The result of this guilt can be a desperate attempt to find new grounds for difference and for moral superiority — no longer, this time, to justify revolution, but rather to maintain an establishment. Any ruling class that lasts more than a decade will feel the need to justify itself by having some ideal to which it appeals. It will invent some central legitimizing principle — usually a moral one. Thus a traditional aristocracy may place a moral value on the notion of "nobility" itself — a quality on which, by definition, it has something of a monopoly. By contrast it may see the classes it exploits as not merely "villains" but "villainous" and therefore needing to be ruled and guided. Our modern ruling class needs some similar principle to justify its free lunches and overseas travel.

They — or let me say "we" — used to be comrades in the struggle that built a better, more humane society. But what radical ideals are left when so many have been abandoned for pragmatic reasons and profit? Most utopian and Aquarian concepts of the 1970s have been quietly drowned. The psychedelic substances are only occasionally used by the successful baby boomers. Experience in running bureaucracies and governments has taught them not to be unduly idealistic about human nature. And so they have fallen back on a more basic or background ideal, one which, at least in Australia, was almost forgotten during the high point of 1970s radicalism. Yet when I went up to university in 1962 this had been the one ideal we all took for granted: to treat everyone equally, regardless of race, color or creed (and some were beginning to add: of gender).

Almost everyone in Australia believed in this ideal, at least in theory. So it is hardly surprising that the New Class still believe in it, at least in theory. The problem is that it is hard to claim moral superiority on grounds of such a common ideal.

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The left-wing and tertiary-educated elite was now quite used to the fruits of power, yet already troubled by increasing evidence that it was just as corruptible as any previous establishment, and that it might soon lose favor with the electorate. In the resulting search for moral self-assurance and legitimacy, radical egalitarianism was the virtue it eventually focused on.

Why? It seems that the divide between left and right, liberal and conservative, is a persistent if fuzzy human tendency. It may be the characteristic mild schizophrenia of our species And yet, most of the qualities that mark this divide between left and right are as morally neutral as those that differentiate, say, French culture from Greek culture. For example, tending to believe or disbelieve in the perfectability of human nature is not of itself a moral position; nor is the tendency to visualize oneself as a rebellious youth rather than as a controlling parent. The one quality by way of which the left can plausibly claim a specifically moral superiority is its concern with equality — its tendency to side with the underdog.

"Both idealism and self-advancement combined to produce ... believers in democracy who brush aside the majority's views."

Before long some politicians and media people who were members or aspirants to this successful class were prepared to side with such underdogs as illegal immigrants, and even against the clear interests and beliefs of their own constituents and nation. Both idealism and self-advancement now combined to produce the mild paradoxes of an establishment that favors anti-establishment sentiments and styles in the arts (and often elsewhere), of believers in democracy who brush aside the majority's views, and of an elite whose claim to privileged status is based quite largely on anti-elitism.

Yet, even a decade ago it was getting harder and harder, at least in Australia, to find true racist red-necks against whom the no-longer-very-young, left-wing, educated classes could rebel — especially after those classes had been running the government and much of the media for years.

Their answer was a trick borrowed, I believe unconsciously, from the McCarthy-ites of the 1950s, and from their spiritual cousins, the Stalinists of the same era. It involves what Freudians call "projection." You project upon some real or invented victim-class your own secret guilts. If you were one of Stalin's henchmen, your secret guilt was an aspiration to privileged middle-class status in a very poor country. Down with the Kulaks! If you were someone like J. Edgar Hoover you could project upon others your own betrayals of public trust and public interest. Down with the communists!

You might then encourage the media to work up an intense obsessive concern about this evil, a concern which contains its own built-in, self-reinforcing loop. The pursuit of communist conspiracy (or in the USSR of a capitalist-revisionist conspiracy) became so omnipresent and all-encompassing that it readily discovered all the evidence it needed to sustain and even intensify its own belief.

By the 1980s, if "racists" (i.e. anti-egalitarians) had not existed it would have been necessary for the meritocracy to invent them. (In Australia, where most ethnic leaders were Europeans and thus of the same Caucasian race as the population that had invited them in, they used the term "racist" just as freely, even though the differences at issue were not racial but cultural — unless one believes in sub-racial classifications.) For some members of the New Class the term "racist" became a way to disparage anyone who believed in "inappropriate" meritocracies and elites — i.e., ones other than those by which they themselves were sustained.

Their other great trick, also consciously imitated from the McCarthy era, was that when you need to enhance your own moral position you discover a conspiracy against some widely-revered public virtue — a virtue to which you can easily lay claim. Thus, by imagining (or exaggerating) a communist conspiracy the McCarthy-ites turned their own minimal and commonplace virtue — that of allegiance to the democratic rule of law and to the legitimacy of the American state — into grounds for a claim of moral superiority, even of heroism.

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How could Betts' New Class, the new ruling bureaucratic class of the 1980s and 1990s, turn their own minimal and commonplace virtue of believing in the brotherhood of man (the siblinghood of humanity) into a special virtue that justified their rule? The high immigration policy, toward which some special interest groups were pushing them, inadvertently supplied an answer.

High immigration alienated and indeed damaged the interests of the non-tertiary-educated majority, yet it did so in ways that were deniable. A media blitz, started or helped by special interest groups, soon turned high immigration into a symbol for acceptance of human rights. Once this assumption was swallowed it became clear that those who opposed high immigration — the majority of ordinary citizens — were wallowing in moral error, denying human equality, and in dire need of "guidance" from an elite. ("How satisfactory!" purrs the Mikado in the Gilbert and Sullivan operetta.)

Initially high immigration had little cost to the New Class. It wasn't usually their jobs the immigrant workers were after, and poverty-related crime took place mainly in suburbs far from their own. For those who had hitched their bureaucratic careers to ethnic programs or multicultural policies, high immigration was pure profit. They could preach against "selfishness" and take the moral credit to themselves, sending the bill to the ordinary citizen. Like the Unjust Steward in the New Testament parable they had found a failsafe way to buy moral credit with someone's else's money (Luke 16:2-4).

The New Class tend to be internationalists (for a mix of idealistic and business reasons) who are strongly opposed to the evergreen appeal of nationalism. Worldwide, it would seem that nation-states based on ethnicity are being formed at a faster rate than at any time since just after World War I.

Ironically, the internationalists soon found themselves in alliance with those who want to Balkanize, multiculturize or racialize the nation-state. (Remember how often multiculturalism was associated with globalization in the discussions about NAFTA?) By a further, now familiar, paradox the cry of "racism" became a trademark of both the globalist New Class and of its allies, the racialists. Some members of the New Class discovered that high immigration, like some of the extreme forms of multiculturalism, could be a way to bring down the nation-state and undercut its loyal supporters. It was twice blessed: it could enhance one's status as an international high flyer and simultaneously as a noble fighter for the underdog.

The New Class globalists found themselves in effective alliance with leaders of certain immigrant groups who were practicing globalists only so long as the rhetoric of globalism could help them increase their "market share" and hence their power within the country. Some of these leaders are chauvinists who play the politics of ethnic pride in a way to resemble the Nineteenth century colonials: "We do have the right to enter your country, and on our own terms, because we need it and you don't really own it; and in any case we are doing you a favor by adding an admixture of our wonderfully rich culture to your sterile, narrow and un-diverse Anglo culture."

"A media blitz, started or helped by special interest groups, soon turned high immigration into a symbol for acceptance of human rights."

The new politically correct line on immigration — much like the plethora of new "culturally sensitive" terms with which the ordinary citizen could hardly keep up — was one more way for the New Class to assert its leadership over the insensitive masses, on whose behalf they had shouted in the streets barely twenty years earlier.

And the fact that there was popular resistance to high immigration was reassuring to the New Class. It enabled them to ward off any nagging doubts that they might have lost their radical edge and suffered the common fate of aging into conservatism. If the New Class could not stay forever young they could at least stay forever radical. Some indeed seemed to desire even more public resistance to their ideas. Mark Ulmann recently accused one group in Australia of being "desperate for a witch to burn."

In high immigration and multiculturalism the New Class had found its difference from the bulk of society, and what seemed to many of them a legitimizing moral principle. They could deliver expansive population growth with the steadily rising

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property values that meant billions of dollars to some of their friends in business. They could extend contempt to all those excluded classes that had failed to advance like them through the mandatory tertiary education into the new enlightenment.

From patronizing a people's culture it can be a short step (as the history of imperialism shows) to denying their aspirations and interests. It soon became politically correct for the New Class to deny that there was such a thing as an Australian or American cultural identity, other than a multicultural one. This made it easier to deny that the American or Australian people had any exclusive right to their own country, or even that there was such a thing as a cohesive Australian or American people. If the nation does not really exist, then why should not its elected and appointed servants sell out its interests in favor of a global one?

That's the story/theory. How well does it fit the facts — in Canada? in the United States? in Australia? in New Zealand? TSC

NOTES

[1] Alvin Gouldner, *The Future of Intellectuals and the Rise of the New Class*, New York, Seaburg Press, 1979.

Katharine Betts, *Ideology and Immigration: Australia 1976 to 1987*, Melbourne University Press, 1988; "The Environmental Movement, New Class, and Immigration Reform," *Papers of the 1993 BIR Conference: The Politics of Immigration*, available from the Department of Immigration, PO Box 25, Woden ACT. I am indebted to Dr. Betts for a number of insights woven into my "story."

Population Policy Issues

Rationale for a government population policy

by Katharine Betts

In 1945, Arthur Calwell was sworn in as Australia's first Minister for Immigration. The country had just emerged from a terrible war in which invasion by Japan had seemed imminent and Calwell, and the Government to which he belonged, believed that Australia must increase its population and thus boost its capacity to defend itself.

Calwell proposed that Australia should aim for a growth rate of two percent per annum — half from natural increase and half from immigration. One might claim that this scheme represented a population policy of sorts (in that it included natural increase as well as immigration) were it not for the fact that it lacked any notion of an end point or goal. Calwell had decided on two percent because he believed that this was the maximum that Australia, or any other country, could manage to absorb each year. If he had believed a higher rate of growth to have been practical he would have advocated it. The country was to grow in order to enhance its defense capacity but there was no notion of what order of size would be big enough: in 1972, in order to rebut the zero population growth movement, he said, "Australians are the best people in the world, so may their tribe, like that of Abou Ben Adhem, increase." (Naturally migrants were also Australians; after all it was Calwell who coined the term "new Australians.")

Eventually the development of nuclear weapons rendered mere numbers obsolete as a contribution to the nation's defense, but the growth which was designed as a defense policy had acquired a momentum of its own. It has persisted since the 1950s despite the lack of any explicit policy framework. The immigration program lacks a clear statement of its purpose. This was clear when the *How Many Australians?* conference was held in 1971. Sixteen years later, in 1988, the FitzGerald Committee still felt obliged to recommend that the Government develop a clear rationale for immigration. But it is not just that immigration lacks a national objective, it exists without any broader policy framework. The country does not have a

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population policy,[1] and neither do the major political parties.[2]

In March 1996 the Australian Labor Party (ALP), which had governed for 13 years, was defeated by a coalition of the two major conservative parties (the Liberal Party, the senior partner, and the National Party) led by John Howard. But, as of mid-1997, the country still lacks a population policy. Why is this?

Some immediate answers may be gleaned from the literature. Sheila Newman reports that before the March 1996 election a spokesman for the Liberal Party told her that while population was a "new and emerging issue" he was concerned that some members of the public would perceive a population policy as draconian. They could imagine that it would involve something like China's one-child policy.[3] And John Coulter reports that, early in 1996, Senator Hill, the new Coalition Minister for the Environment, did not see developing a population policy as a priority. He believed that his Government's approach would be "to manage the consequences of population growth as it occurs."[4]

"At the least a national population policy should have a numerical goal..."

In March 1997 the Minister for Immigration for the Coalition Government, Philip Ruddock, explained that he felt that the Government did not need a population policy. Under his administration the official immigration program had fallen and Australia's population was set to stabilize at 23 million.

There was much that was sensible in Ruddock's speech but, unfortunately, the numbers which he used were wrong. The real intake figures are nearly twice as high as those he referred to and, rather than stabilizing at 23 million, the population is set to grow to 28 million and beyond.[5] The ALP is now showing some signs of trying to develop a population policy but these moves are hedged around by promises to protect family reunion and humanitarian migration. They even suggest that the official figures could be reduced by not counting the growing numbers of people coming in from New Zealand.[6]

The ALP were the party of Government from 1983 to 1996; they were led by Bob Hawke from 1983 to 1991 and by Paul Keating from 1992 to March 1996. It was the ALP which presided over the resurgence of mass immigration in the late 1980s; if they do now develop a population policy it will be after a long history of avoiding the question. For example at the 1994 United Nations population conference in Cairo they dismissed the need for a population policy on the grounds that: "a formal statement of policy would not be appropriate for Australia, given ...[the] diversity of community views as to the character and objectives of such a policy."[7]

Since 1991 a number of groups and individuals[8] have begun to argue quite strongly that Australia should have a population policy. They argue that it is not enough to have an immigration policy set according to short-term political and economic goals but which nonetheless drives the country's demographic future. Immigration should be put into a broader content; this context should determine immigration rather than immigration determining the context.

The upshot of the present circumstances is that we have a de facto or implicit population policy which occurs as an unplanned and almost unintended consequence of the annual intake figures.

What should a population policy consist of?

At the least a national population policy should have a numerical goal, a larger figure that we are aiming to grow toward and stabilize at (or a smaller figure which we are trying to reach through a gradual easing of the overall numbers). It should also have something to say about population distribution; numbers which may be manageable in one setting can cause environmental, economic or social problems in another. But numbers and their distribution are only a means to an end; the long-term quality survival of a human population in Australia.[9] Clearly there are value judgments involved in the term "quality" which I will not pursue here, but few present Australians would be interested in fostering a population policy which increased numbers to a maximum which could only be maintained at a bare subsistence level, with no

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margin for education, research, care of the disabled or for foreign aid.

The United Nations' definition of a population policy is:

> *...Measures and programs designed to contribute to the achievement of economic, social, demographic, political and other collective goals through affecting critical demographic variables, namely the size and growth of the population, its geographic distribution (national and international) and its demographic characteristics...*[10]

Geoffrey McNicoll puts it more succinctly. A population policy as "a coherent vision of the desired demographic future and a co-ordinated set of actions designed to move toward it."[11]

After a careful and extensive analysis of a range of effects of population growth, Doug Cocks concludes that Australia's interests, and the world's interests, would be best served by our aiming to stabilize our population as soon as possible (a strategy which would take us to about 20 million people by the 2030s).[12] Australian readers may or may not be convinced by his arguments and his particular working numbers. But even if we prefer a different number and a different time frame, the list of policy instruments which he identifies is useful. They include: immigration policy, natural increase policy, tourist and visitor policy, overseas aid policy, internal migration policy, and education policy.

Arguments for and against having an explicit population policy

ARGUMENTS FOR:

One argument for having a population policy is that around the world today most countries do have such a policy. (Of course, a counter argument would be that most *developed* countries do not.) If we are going to decide on whether to have a policy or not on the basis of following the herd, it then becomes a question of which herd do you choose to follow? Either way this does not seem a promising line of reasoning.

It could, however, be argued that it is more necessary to have a population policy in a country with an active immigration policy. A libertarian might argue that you could be laissez faire about demography if you could assume that future populations were reflecting the individual will to procreate and survive. This would be a fallacious argument because it would presume that what people wanted for themselves, say three children or none, was the same as what they wanted in the aggregate, say a population of 40 million in 2041 (and growing) or a population of 10 million (and contracting), but it would make some sense to at least pause and discuss that argument. But once the people's representatives have made a commitment to actively bringing in immigrants, it seems odd to proceed with this active and explicit immigration policy without an overall goal.

Indeed, it may be dangerous. While many opinion leaders in the media and the universities continue to support it, immigration is unpopular. In September 1996, 71 percent of people polled said the immigration intake was too large. The Coalition did cut the intake in mid-1996 and again in mid-1997 but, in May 1997, 64 percent said that it was too large. In the early 1960s, only 20 percent of Australians held this view.[14] This unpopularity may in part be due to the program being seen as a response to special interest groups rather than as a policy firmly grounded in the nation's needs.

"...62 percent supported the idea of a short-term freeze on immigration and 53 percent wanted to reduce the proportion of Asians in the intake."

For most of the post-War years the major political parties have held to a gentleman's agreement not to discuss immigration or to make it an election issue. In 1996 this agreement was rudely broken by a new politician, independent backbencher Pauline Hanson.[15] In September Hanson delivered her maiden speech. Among other claims, she asserted that Aborigines were being treated overgenerously by the Federal Government, that the proportion of Asians in our migration intake should be reduced, and that there should be a short-term freeze in immigration.

An AGB McNair poll taken in the wake of this speech found that 62 percent supported the idea of

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a short-term freeze on immigration and that 53 percent wanted to reduce the proportion of Asians in the intake. These attitudes were much stronger among Coalition voters and among people of low incomes.

In April 1997 Hanson published an extraordinarily controversial book, *The Truth*, which was declared to be out of print almost as soon as it was released, and she launched her own political party, One Nation. One Nation's support in the polls moved quickly to nine percent but then fell to six percent. However it, and its leader, continue to attract an astonishing degree of media coverage, almost all of it condemnatory. Hanson is portrayed as a racist, even a fascist, and street protests against her have intensified. They have now become violent. On July 7, Keith Warburton, unemployed and aged 59, attended a One Nation party meeting in a Melbourne outer-suburb. He was not a member of the party but wanted to learn more about its policies on unemployment. As he left he was attacked by anti-racist vigilantes and taken to a hospital with a fractured skull. Protesters and police now routinely outnumber supporters at One Nation meetings.

"Hanson has delivered a jolt to accepted standards of civil inattention to social questions not approved for our discussion."

If we were to have a population policy some of this tension could be avoided and the energy that is now being expended on accusations of racism and counter-accusations of McCarthyism could be put to more productive purposes.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST:

Developing a policy which is written down on paper might be seen as an end in itself. Once this was done nothing else might happen. The Australian Democrats have had a written population policy for some time without this noticeably affecting their actions.[17] The Australian Conservation Foundation developed such a policy in 1993, again with little tangible result. Might a written national population policy just become a device to calm the critics and avoid action?

Developing a population policy could bring to the surface underlying disagreements about the nature of Australian society and the kinds of futures we would prefer: this after all is the gist of the Keating Government's position at Cairo in 1994.

This argument finds some backing from interpretations of elite theory which argue that, in the interests of political stability, elites must limit political debate to a narrow range of economic topics.[18] Consensually unified elites provide the most stable form of government,[19] a form of government which maximizes personal safety, orderly administration and freedom under the law.[20] But this peace and stability is brittle. It depends on political elites (and other leaders of powerful interest groups) developing bonds of trust with each other. It also depends on restricting the range of issues which is brought for public contest to those which do not excite much passion among the members of the non-elite. The trust between members of the elite creates stability, but it depends on their agreeing to ignore a range of questions which concern the public.

In contrast, members of disunified power elites cannot trust each other and always have to keep their followers mobilized and ready to defend them. (These non-elite followers and supporters may be unionists, members of ethnic or religious groups, business interests, farmers and so on.) In a sense, members of the non-elite play a more significant role in such societies but life is dangerous and violent. Most people, if they could choose, would opt for the quiet and stability provided by a consensually unified elite. But one of the prices to be paid for this stability is that divisive questions which could mobilize large sections of the non-elite to take direct action must be kept off the agenda.

Australia has a consensually unified elite.[21] The question then becomes, if we were to formulate a population policy, would the facade of democracy crumble and would we be pitchforked into a Hobbesian world of the war of all against all? Surely not. When the elite theorists say "leave elites alone" they do not mean that we should never try to influence Governments or try to persuade them to turn their attention to new policy areas. (Their meaning is much broader. It boils down to: Don't try to impose inappropriate forms of government on

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countries with the wrong sort of elite structure and don't try to take social privileges away from elites. This won't make them nicer, more democratic and accountable; it will have the opposite effect.)[22] Indeed elite theorists themselves emphasize the need not just for population control, but for smaller populations in developed countries.[23]

But it is true to say that population and immigration questions do not fit onto the conventional left-versus-right political spectrum. And that this makes them risky questions for politicians who are accustomed to dealing with their electorate on a left-versus-right basis.[24] But many issues which concern us (euthanasia, environmentalism, abortion, feminism, anti-racism, gay rights, animal liberation, drugs, and so on) are neither left-wing nor right-wing (in the sense of state intervention in markets versus free-range market forces). If elites are to maintain their consensual unification they have to deal with such questions. Since September 1996 Hanson has delivered a jolt to accepted standards of civil inattention to social questions not approved for our discussion. It now seems that not having a population policy may be every bit as divisive as having one might be.

We are, after all, witnessing an extraordinary level of passion. Hanson's supporters are often elderly. If they wish to attend meetings they must run the gauntlet of jeering youths outside. These scenes are shocking but the tone of the media commentary is also extreme.

The expatriate art critic, Robert Hughes, has used the crudest biological analogies to describe Hanson's beliefs.[25] A national newspaper columnist is moved by her remarks on racial targeting in migration selection to tell us that:

> *Bigotry was enshrined in our Constitution, in our laws. Bigotry was central to our immigration and foreign policies. ... [and] Racism is deeply embedded in our culture and can rise like a phoenix — or, rather, a vulture — with the slightest stimulus. [and with the election of the Coalition in March 1996 we have returned to tub-thumping, boong-bashing populism....*[26]

Another agonizes over the "dark and primitive urges" which Hanson has released.[27] The former Prime Minister, Paul Keating, has announced that hankering after a monoculture is not only hopeless, divisive and economically harmful, it is worse than ignorance, prejudice, fear and racism.[28] And a notable Australian author has said Pauline Hanson has put us on a train to Auschwitz.[29]

The level of hyperbole is strong. For example, the evil yearnings for a monoculture which Keating discerns may be no more than a desire for a sense pf peoplehood, coupled with weariness among old and new Australians with the insistence on ethnic labels. But the vehemence and exaggeration suggest that we may risk more social division by refusing to develop a population policy than we might engender by giving the matter some serious consideration.

After all, if we ignore population policy and leave our demography to be a by-product of short-term vested interests, we will indeed be staying on a train that is taking us to an uncertain destination. I am convinced that the destination is not Auschwitz but it could be New York, or Los Angeles. Later it might get to be Mexico City. In the very end, if we still refused to give the driver any directions, it could draw in to Lagos or Kinshasa. (And one of the many disagreeable features of the stops toward the end of the line is that they lack consensually unified political elites. Hobbes would understand the conditions in the streets of Lagos very well.)

> ***"...population and immigration questions do not fit onto the conventional left versus right political spectrum [making] them risky questions for politicians..."***

Two arguments against having a population policy have been identified here, one short and the other longer. The short argument is that developing a policy could be an excuse for doing nothing. Against this we could argue that it is harder for a Government to ignore its written policies than it is for minor parties or non-government organizations. The longer answer is that developing a policy could undermine democracy. This must be balanced against two arguments for having such a policy: refusing to discuss population directions may be more dangerous than open debate, and not doing anything about these directions may be even worse.

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Why Doesn't Australia Have a Population Policy?

Perhaps this lapse is simply due to a postmodern aversion to goals and purpose? This is unlikely. Beyond embracing globalism and the Internet, and talking of a postmodern republic, postmodernism does not seem to have had an impact on the policy elite. (Indeed, a consensually unified elite would find postmodern precepts a much harder challenge than any offered by Pauline Hanson.) Possibly the theory is that the existing implicit policy of continual growth through immigration is in the national interest but the electorate is incapable of understanding this? This explanation looks weak. For seven years the Bureau of Immigration research labored on an answer to the question about the economic effects of immigration and population growth. In 1995, it produced a booklet summarizing its work.[30] This claims that the research has shown that the economic effects are very small: perhaps negative, perhaps positive, perhaps neutral. No one asserts that the Bureau was biased against growth and, as it is now dissolved, this conclusion is its final word on the topic. The case that the economic effects are strongly positive has been given the best chance to assert itself and it has failed.

> ***"It is much easier to emote about multiculturalism and racism and the purity of one's own moral position than it is to do demographic, environmental, social and economic research."***

Doug Cocks provides a good up-to-date summary of a wider range of effects, one that strives hard to be as open as possible to the pro-growth position and, on balance, he concludes that the case for stability is stronger.[31] Doubtless the matter will not rest here but a great deal of work has now been carried out on the pros and cons of growth and no serious author has produced a strong case to the effect that growth is obviously in the majority interest. Many other authors, particularly environmentalists, have presented a strong case that it is against the majority interest.

Tim Flannery offers a third possible explanation: politicians fear that a population policy would give too much power to scientists.[32] Indeed, as Coulter's description of the Australian Democrats' difficulty in coming to terms with their population policy shows, a population policy is a greedy policy. It has implications for, and sets limits to, many other policy areas. It also invades a range of value-laden areas, sexual behavior, women's rights, nationalism, ethnicity, humanitarianism, as well as debates between economic rationalists (who tend to be cornucopians) and environmentalists (who do not). It is not just a question of a range of interest groups with material gains and losses at stake. A population policy would involve all of us in discussions about basic values. Ignoring it and leaving demographic outcomes to fate may seem less troublesome in the short term.

Another possible explanation is simply ignorance. Maybe neither the politicians nor the general public understand demography and therefore, while they are prey to odd fears from time to time, the overall policy domain is not an area of interest to them. This has some plausibility. Moreover, developing a policy would mean hard work and research. It is much easier to emote about multiculturalism and racism and the purity of one's own moral position than it is to do demographic, environmental, social and economic research. Besides, demographic changes make their effects known relatively slowly, over a five- to ten-year span at least. The Government which induces growth may well be out of office before the effects of its decisions begin to be felt.

Ignorance of demography and the fear which fuels our present troubles may go hand in hand. In a cogent analysis of the present state of demographic alarm, Duncan Campbell draws attention to our general level of ignorance. He asks: "How Asian are we going to become as a result of given annual levels of net intake of Asian peoples? ... It is at this critical point that resentment and fear have entered the picture, because the community has no way of judging what the future population will be. The debate is running open-ended, without terms of reference, and immigration is really only a sub-issue...."[33]

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There are, of course, many numbers in the public arena but the level of dissension and distrust is such that people often do not understand them or do not believe them. For example, a print journalist reports that when a television interviewer "confronted ... [Hanson] with figures showing that only 866,224 of Australia's more than 18 million people are of Asian origin, Ms. Hanson was blunt. 'I don't believe those figures,' she said, 'They are paper figures.'"[34] Such distrust is understandable in a situation where the figures lack a policy context which would, for example, make it clear that 30,000 immigrants a year was a small number and 80,000 a large one. Campbell argues that an explicit population policy would remove the feeling that the situation is open-ended and out of control and that it would return us to our more accustomed levels of civility.

There is merit in many of these explanations but there is another which can be gleaned from Doug Cocks' work.[35] Cocks says the existing implicit policy is not in the national interest. If we were to have an explicit policy this fact could not be hidden. Knowledge of this would either alienate the general public or, if it induced a change in direction, this change would alienate the special interest groups now profiting from the status quo.

It is for this reason, he says, that no Government wants to make the process public and explicit. Why should the policy-elite broadcast to the community that the common good is taking second place to sectional interests? Followers of the television series *Yes Prime Minister* will see that this situation is indeed a good reason for the politicians' bipartisan "no-policy" policy.

To this we could add the fact that elite values on questions of immigration and national identity really do differ quite sharply from those of the non-elite. When policy makers are promoting growth they are not necessarily being cynical pawns of shady influence brokers — many of them believe in what they are doing. But without a population policy they cannot present evidence to the Australian people that their values and beliefs are founded on anything other than mere cosmopolitan prejudice. TSC

NOTES

[1] See G. McNicoll, "Institutional impediments to population policy in Australia," *Journal of the Australian Population Association*, vol. 12, no. 2, 1995, p.101; D. Cocks, *People Policy*, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, 1996, pp.21-22.

[2] See S. Newman, "Population policy of Australian political parties — explicit and implicit," *People and Place*, vol. 3, no. 4, 1995, pp.46-52.

[3] ibid., p.50.

[4] J. Coulter, "A biologist in the Senate," *People and Place*, vol. 4, no. 3, 1996, p.1.

[5] Ruddock's speech is reprinted in *People and Place*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1997, pp.6-13. See also the demographic critiques provided by C. Young and K. Betts in that same issue.

[6] D. Kerr, "The Australian Labor Party's views on population policy," *People and Place*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1997, pp.13-18.

[7] *Australia: National Report on Population for the United Nations International Conference on Population and Development, Cairo, 1994*, Australian Government Publishing Service (AGPS), Canberra, 1994, p.7.

[8] See G. Withers, *Population Issues and Australia's Future: Environment, Economy and Society (National Population Council, Population Issues Committee)*, AGPS, Canberra, 1991, pp.122-123; B. Jones, *Australia's Population "Carrying Capacity": One Nation — Two Ecologies, Report by the House of Representatives Standing Committee for Long Term Strategies*, AGPS, Canberra, 1994, p.19; Australian Academy of Science, *Population 2040: Australia's Choice*, Australian Academy of Science, Canberra, 1994, p.136; T.F. Flannery, *The Future Eaters: An Ecological History of the Australasian Lands and People*, Reed, Sydney, 1994, p.373; D. Cocks, *People Policy*, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, 1996, p.200ff.; McNicoll, 1995, op. cit.

[9] See Cocks, 1996, op. cit., p.306 and *passim*.

[10] Quoted in ibid., p.21.

[11] McNicoll, 1995, op. cit., p.97.

[12] Cocks, 1996, op. cit., pp.180-189, 218.

[13] ibid., pp.218-220.

[14] K. Betts, "Immigration and public opinion in Australia," *People and Place*, vol. 4, no. 3, 1996, pp.9-20.

[15] For an account of Hanson's extraordinary political career see R. J. Stove, "The iron lady down under," *Chronicles*, July 1997, pp.2-23.

[16] AGB McNair, sample 2060, nationwide, Telephone, November 1-3, 1996.

[17] See Coulter, 1996, op. cit. The Australian Democrats are a minority party but, along with an independent, Senator Brian Harradine, they hold the balance of power in the Senate.

[18] See I. McAllister, *Political Behaviour: Citizens, Parties and Elites in Australia*, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1992, p.16. McAllister argues that there are deeply divisive

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questions which, in the interests of stability, must be kept off the political agenda. He takes this idea from elite theory. See, for example, G. L. Field and J. Higley, *Elitism*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1980, pp.37,72,117,129.

[19] See Field and Higley, 1980, op. cit.; J. Higley, D. Deacon and D. Smart, *Elites in Australia*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1979.

[20] See Field and Higley, 1980, op. cit., pp.48-51.

[21] See Higley et al., 1979, op. cit., p.264.

[22] See ibid., p.6, and Field and Higley, 1980, op. cit., pp.50,52.

[23] See J. Higley, G. L. Field and K. Grøholt, *Elite Structure and Ideology: A Theory with Applications to Norway*, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo and Columbia University Press, New York, 1976, p.358.

[24] See McNicoll, 1995, op. cit., p.105; K. Betts, *Ideology and Immigration: Australia 1976 to 1987*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1988, pp.49-51.

[25] Hughes describes them as "these burps and farts from the deep gut of Australian racism," quoted in John Ellicott, "PM welched on promise: Hughes," *The Australian*, 2 December 1996, p.5.

[26] P. Adams, "Our bigotry has never been silenced," *The Australian: Weekend Review Section*, October 12-13, 1996, p.2.

[27] H. Mackay, "Visionary leadership will bring out the tribe's worthier urges," *The Australian*, November 12, 1996, pp.1,2.

[28] See material quoted in M. Steketee, "Hanson view compounds a myth: Keating," *The Australian*, November 12, 1996, pp.1,2.

[29] T. Keneally, on a program presented by Rod Sharp, produced by Mark Ray, BBC Radio 5, broadcast October 31, 1996.

[30] Lynne Williams, *Understanding the Economics of Immigration*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

[31] See Cocks, 1996, op. cit., pp.180-189.

[32] T. Flannery, address to a public forum, "Australia Overpopulated?" Friday, August 18, 1995, University of Melbourne.

[33] D. Campbell, "Just how big a nation should we aim to be?", *The Australian*, Oct. 15, 1996, p.13.

[34] D. D. McNicoll, "Wise up, Aboriginal women warn 'young' Ms. Hanson," *The Australian*, Oct. 21, 1996, p.3.

[35] See Cocks, op. cit., pp.28-30.

How Reliable Are the Immigration Figures in Britain?

by Peter Tompkins

Winston Churchill MP has just made a speech casting doubt on Home Office immigration statistics. And while I do not necessarily agree with all he says, his essential point about the level of immigration to [Britain] being a great deal higher than admitted by the Home Office is entirely accurate.

For ten years I was head of the UK immigration service. I have long known that the Home Office statistics bear no relation at all to the true facts on immigration.

The Home Office states that in the five years to 1993, 264,500 people from outside these shores settled in Britain. In contrast, the actual rate was 625,000 — more than twice the official one. Instead of around 50,000 a year getting here on average, as the Home Office claims, the true figure works out at more than 100,000 per year.

The Home Office may like to assume that illegal immigrants dutifully queue up, buy an airline ticket home, and leave our shores the moment their permitted time here is over — but the assumption is untrue. Most simply remain in this country as *de facto* settlers, without being recorded as such. The Home Office cannot therefore continue to pretend that its figures are accurate.

The actual rate of immigration belies the official statistics, making Home Office policy severely flawed. There should be an open debate about the scale, and the long-term consequences, of immigration.

On these points I agree with Mr. Churchill.

Excerpts from a column in
the Australian edition of
UK Mail (The International Daily Mail)
February 13-19, 1995

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Could There Be A Flood?

'Our ultimate weapon is people,' Mahathir says

Editor's note: On May 5, 1997 the honorable Dato Seri Dr. Mahathir Bin Mohamad, Prime Minister of Malaysia, spoke to a meeting of the Southern Africa International Dialog at Kasane, Botswana. Despite Malaysia's close proximity to Australia, and what seems to be the steady "Asianization" of Australia, Mahathir's speech was given only one minor report in that country's press. He had advocated the flooding of developed countries with millions of legal and illegal migrants. (His suggestion was not noticed elsewhere in the developed world as it should have been.) Here we excerpt portions of the speech from a manuscript obtained upon request from Dr. Mahathir's office by THE SOCIAL CONTRACT's Australian correspondent, Denis McCormack. Federal Rep. Graeme Campbell placed reference to the speech in the permanent records of the Australian Parliament on May 15, 1997). Copies of the entire speech can be obtained at cost from the Social Contract Press, 1-800-352-4843. Paragraph numbers below are in the original manuscript.

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the South African Development Cooperation (SADC) share many common features, one of which is that many of the member states in these two organizations were former colonies of countries from the Imperial North. Malaysia was lucky that the transition from a British colony to an independent nation was a peaceful one. Many others were not so lucky and they had to endure the traumas of bloodshed and civil strife before they could achieve independence from their colonial masters. And this invariably has a deleterious effect on their subsequent development.

9. But can we developing countries be truly independent? Undoubtedly, direct occupation and political control has ended but this has been replaced by much more insidious forms of colonization. Indeed, many of us have found that we are more dependent than when we were colonies. Our politics, economy, social and behavioral systems are still under the control, directly or indirectly, of the old colonial masters and the great powers. And this constitutes the environment in which we have to manage ourselves. Our struggle for independence is far from over.

10. As we all know, the moment the European nations realized that they were going to lose their empires, they decided to come together in order to continue their grip on international affairs. Today the European Union is a powerful force which tries to impose its will on the rest of the world. For a time they were preoccupied with the East-West confrontation, but now that is over and a much more united Europe, which includes the Eastern states and Russia, will confront the rest of the world.

11. Their approach will be more subtle. Colonization is over, but now comes globalization. The borders which define countries will be erased and economic competition on a so-called level playing field must reign supreme. Globalization and level playing fields have become the catchwords of a new religion and as we know, you do not challenge religious faith no matter how obviously wrong it is. You merely accept it.

"But we must know that globalization, the breaking down of national borders, will result in the loss of independence."

16. How our workers sweated and toiled during the colonial period was not an issue before, but it is an issue now. Millions of acres of prime forests in Malaysia were cut down and burnt in order to grow rubber and mine for tin in the colonial days, and nobody cared. Today environmentalists demonstrate against us and boycott our timber because we build

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a dam to provide cheap electricity for our people.

17. I appreciate the genuine concern and the cooperation on the part of many from developed countries about developing the poor countries. But I would like to warn developing countries here and elsewhere that there will always be things that the developed will do which will not benefit us. We will face many obstacles, one of the worst is the corruption of our governments with aid in order that we will not speak freely about what is being done against us.

* * *

19. Having lent money to poor countries, the World Bank insists on directing the management of the economy of those countries.

20. The advice they give is calculated to benefit the repayment of loans they had given out. The political effects of their directives do not bother them. Frequently countries are destabilized and governments overthrown due to following the advice of the World Bank.

21. Now, of course, the obsession is with liberal democracy and the multiparty system. I am all for democracy. Malaysia has many political parties and the opposition invariably win seats in Parliament and in the legislative councils of the states. Opposition parties have formed governments in several states and they still control one state. But the democratic system is not the easiest system to operate.

22. The present liberal democratic countries in the North have had over 200 years of experience. They became democratic slowly. Even today they are in the process of developing the system.

23. But the former colonies which gained independence in the post-World War II period had to go from autocratic government operated by the metropolitan countries to self-administered democracy, overnight literally. How do people who had never known democracy suddenly make this complex system work?

* * *

32. As I pointed out earlier, the moment the North lost their colonies in the South, they set up the European Economic Community which today has become the European Union, a very powerful economic entity capable of forcing its will on the South that they had raped before and impoverished through unfavorable terms of trade. But the North has not finished yet. They have formed the Group of Seven (G7) to totally dominate the world, to colonize it by other means.

* * *

37. We live in an international jungle. There is no law and order in international relations. There is very little justice. The high and the mighty rules. The weak and the poor just have to lump it.

"But we do have the ultimate weapon — people... We should migrate north in our millions, legally or illegally. Masses of Asians and Africans should inundate Europe and America."

38. With all these threats and obstructive actions we must now face the challenge of globalization. Are we in a state to face this challenge? Quite obviously not. But no one is going to wait for us to get ready for the challenge. So whether we like it or not we have to face the challenge.

* * *

44. The North can gain much by recolonizing. But we do have the ultimate weapon. People are more mobile now. They can go anywhere. In a borderless world we can go anywhere. If we are not allowed a good life in our countries, if we are going to be global citizens, then we should migrate North. We should migrate North in our millions, legally or illegally. Masses of Asians and Africans should inundate Europe and America. If there is any strength that we have, it is in the numbers. Three-fourths of the world is either black, brown, yellow, or some combination of all these. We will make all nations in the world rainbow nations.

45. This is how we will ultimately challenge globalization. I hope we don't have to resort to this. But we will if we are not allowed a piece of the action, a piece of the cake; if we are not allowed to prosper in a borderless world.

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Australia As Client-State

Globalization = free trade = end of national identity

by E. L. Wheelwright

As the internationalization of the Australian economy proceeds, public confidence in its benefits is receding. Public support for economic nationalism is growing to the point where the major parties cannot ignore it.

— Geoff Kitney
Sydney Morning Herald, June 6, 1997

According to United Nations reports, one third of world output is "under the common governance of transnational corporations," of which there are 37,000, but only one percent of these corporations own half of these assets. These 370 giant corporations are concentrated in six industries: oil, automobiles, chemicals and pharmaceuticals, electronics, industrial equipment; and the group: food, beverages and tobacco. These are the major industries which, together with finance, are the key levers of global capitalism.[1]

In the mid-1980s Australia had the highest inflows of direct foreign investment of all the developed market economies, measured as a proportion of GNP.[2] It now has one of the highest levels of foreign ownership and control of its economy of all the developed countries; net foreign liabilities are 59 percent of GDP, making Australia the second-most indebted country in the world (behind New Zealand, with 70 percent). The biggest area of interest for foreign private investment now is the finance and insurance sector, with 33 percent of the total, followed by manufacturing, with 18 percent. The largest foreign stake in the country is held by the USA with 23 percent, followed by the UK with 19 percent, and Japan with 13 percent. Of the $437 billion of total foreign investment, over 80 percent is private; soon total foreign equity will exceed foreign debt.[3]

The increasing foreign ownership and control of the Australian economy first attracted attention in the early 1960s when the American capital inflow began to equal that of the British. Even conservative politicians began to express reservations, e.g. in 1960 the then-Treasurer of the Menzies Government, Harold Holt, said that he "would not like to see capital investment from overseas continue on the present scale indefinitely." There were no official statistics of the foreign ownership of Australian companies in those days, but a private estimate of the foreign ownership of all company income in Australia suggested that it had grown from 16 percent in 1949 to 27 percent in 1963. The estimate for manufacturing industries was about one-third: the proportion foreign-controlled was higher — around 40 percent.

The conclusion of this study, conducted over 30 years ago, was that foreign investment had a part to play in the economic development of Australia, but "*it must be a part assigned to it by Australian institutions and organizations established for the purpose of planning the best ways to develop our resources.*"[4] (Emphasis supplied.)

Nothing of any consequence was done until the advent of the Whitlam Labor Government in 1972. The pressure had been so great that the previous Liberal Government had established a Committee of Inquiry into the economy, one of its terms of reference being foreign investment. It reported that Australia was "on the tiger's back" because increased capital inflow was required to finance the outflow of profits. Hence it recommended that further promotion of foreign capital should cease. No notice was taken of this report.

The domestic industrialization drive was petering out because the market was saturated; more foreign money was leaving industry than was coming in. Foreign capital switched to the mineral sector, and American ownership there tripled. The Utah Development Corporation came to be the symbol of

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mineral exploitation in the 1970s, making the highest profit of any company in Australia. Even some Liberal and Country Party politicians began to have doubts; the Deputy Prime Minister warned that "we are selling off the farm to pay the mortgage."[5]

Opposition took various forms. A splinter group from the Liberals, led by businessman Gordon Barton, included opposition to further foreign investment in its platform; and a businessmen's organization, the Australian Ownership Council, was formed to press for restrictions on foreign investment.

A Liberal Prime Minister, John Gorton, was attacked and driven from office partly because he was an "economic nationalist." Labor parliamentarians agitated to establish a select committee on the subject in the Senate, which advocated a screening system for transnational investment in 1972. Popular protest movements focused on particular issues such as uranium mining and Aboriginal land rights in outlying States. Even the Liberal-Country Party Government in its last months in office in 1972 was forced to make an attempt at controlling transnationals, legislating to enable the Treasurer to prohibit any takeovers "not in the national interest."

"Foreign companies accounted for over 70 percent of sales in Australian supermarkets..."

The new Labor Government elected in 1972 retained this legislation, and adopted a policy of initiating a series of massive natural resource projects dominated by the government and designed to develop alternative sources of energy to oil. It involved an extensive national pipeline grid, enrichment plants to process uranium deposits, electrification of rail facilities and the development of solar energy. These projects were to be financed and managed by existing or new government agencies, which would locate, mine, and process materials, and market the end products, thus locking out the transnational corporations.

It was this which unleashed the "furies of private interest" and raised the specter of socialism. The Minister for Minerals and Energy, Rex Connor, contended that the mineral corporations were selling Australia's resources too cheaply and not paying their fair share of taxes. Australian banks and financial institutions were hostile to the proposals, as well as the Treasury, so Connor intended to finance the program by the public borrowing of $4 billion of Arab money. It was the financial "scandals" related to this plan which played a key role in the sacking of the Labor Government in 1975 by the Governor-General.

Two weeks before this government was dismissed a Committee to advise on policies for manufacturing industries reported to the Prime Minister. One of its terms of reference was a policy on manufacturing companies of overseas origin. It had found a high concentration of the industry — 200 corporate groups accounted for half the turnover of the entire industry, and nearly half of these were foreign-controlled. Consequently the committee recommended that within fifteen years all large foreign corporations should be half-Australian owned, have an Australian majority thereafter, and until then should report regularly to an appropriate authority on its "international competitive stance," with special reference to transfer pricing and export-franchise arrangements.

The incoming Government did nothing of the kind; instead it established the Foreign Investment Review Board which over the last 20 years has approved just about every application put to it. Over the last decade most foreign investment has gone into the finance and property sectors of the economy.[8] Foreign investors now own 31 percent of the shares traded on the Australian stock market and account for over 20 percent of all purchases and sales.[9] The net effect of the successive waves of foreign investment which have constituted the selling of Australia, has been to lock it into the new corporate world economic order created by the explosion of a few hundred transnational corporations with headquarters in the USA, the UK, Western Europe and Japan.

The first wave of foreign investment was from Britain; after World War II the second wave was from the USA, and the third wave was from Japan in the 1980s, concentrating in resource development,

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initially.[10] This escalating foreign ownership and control of the Australian economy attracted attention from various quarters, not just those on the left of the political spectrum. One example is the formation of the Australia Owned Companies Association (AOCA) by Harry Wallace, a businessman whose printing ink company was bought out by foreign capital in the early 1990s. His AOCA publishes regular well-researched bulletins informing consumers as to who owns the companies which produce the products they buy. He estimated that foreign companies accounted for over 70 percent of sales in Australian supermarkets, and said in 1994:

> *We are governed by the Canberra culture; Hewson, Keating, Reith, Dawkins and the permanent heads are all in the same school, truckling out the same nonsense about level playing fields, J curves, rationalization, privatization and free trade.*[11]

Another example of those hostile to more foreign investment is B.A. Santamaria, traditionally on the right, attacking both major parties:

> *The essential problem lies in the determination of both sides of politics that Australia shall see its future as entirely subject to the demands of the global economy, and will reduce the role of government as close as possible to none at all, paying whatever price is necessary to "free up" the economy. That view of the role of the State is essentially Anglo-American. It is not accepted by countries such as Germany, Japan, and others in East and Southeast Asia.*[12]

The spectacular growth of foreign investments on a world scale has created a new international bourgeoisie, producing client states of international capital of which Australia is now one. Sklair speaks of "a new global capitalist class" which dictates economic transnational practices, formed by a triple alliance of host state, transnational corporations, and elements of the indigenous elite, such as senior state functionaries, prominent politicians, and leaders of learned professions.[13]

This new class changes the nature of the political struggles between capital and labor, alters the role of the state, and deliberately downgrades domestic industry, engendering the belief that most indigenous practices are inferior to foreign ones, which are now called "world's best practices." New methods and new products from abroad are virtually *defined* as being better than indigenous ones. These attitudes have a depressing effect on local industry.

Hence, Sklair considers that the most important ideology now transmitted internationally is that of *consumerism*, which is essential for the spread of global capitalism. But consumerism depends on advertising, which leads to the transnationalization of the local mass media and communications systems, which is happening now in Australia. To this we should also add the ideology of free markets and free trade, propagated in universities and think-tanks around the world, financed by big business, and even involving a "secret society" of economists, as documented over the last 50 years by Richard Crockett.[14] The ultimate logic of this ideology is that even *ideas now become commodities*, bought and sold in the market place.

"The most important ideology now transmitted internationally is consumerism [which in turn] depends on advertising."

According to Gare these developments in Australia have served to undermine national identities; and have upset the previous balance of class relations, causing decline in the number of people producing for the domestic market, which is not compensated for by the increase in those producing for export. Hence the traditional working class is shrinking, and is fighting a rear-guard action without much success. This new transnational capitalist class, he argues, has no direction or underlying purpose — just power, control and conspicuous consumption on a massive scale.

The rise of the new class, Gare emphasizes, has been associated with massive expenditure by large transnationals on public relations, promoting policies favorable to their expansion, especially the ideology of the New Right advocating the emancipation of the market from all controls. He considers that the new international bourgeoisie achieved this to a significant extent by the control of

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the mass media "which has been the site of unprecedented corporate activity and intervention in recent decades."[15]

A seminal study of who the globalizers are in Australia has been made by Leslie Sklair.[16] He emphasizes that in the 1980s and 1990s Australia "made a rapid and deep-reaching transition from a high tariff, ultra-protectionist, inward-looking economy and society to one of the most open economies in the world." His research focused on four fractions of the transnational capitalist class: transnational corporation executives and their local affiliates, globalizing bureaucrats, capitalist-inspired politicians and professionals, and consumerist elites such as merchants, the media, and advertising.

"...in the 1980s and 1990s Australia made a rapid and deep-reaching transition ... to one of the most open economies in the world."

Interviews were conducted with corporations, state agencies, political functionaries, and professional and consumerist elites, seeking to identify key globalizers. Those identified as "organizational globalizers" included transnational corporations, business associations, and government. BHP (Broken Hill Proprietary Limited) emerged as the dominant globalizing force among the organizations, followed by Pacific Dunlop, RTZ (Rio Tinto Zinc), the Australian Labor Party, the National Australian Bank, Amcor, CSR (formerly Colonial Sugar Refineries), the Business Council of Australia, the ANZ Bank, CocaCola Amatil, News Corporation, and the Australian Manufacturing Council.

The "individual globalizers" identified included leading Labor Party politicians, members of the corporate elite, "capitalist-inspired politicians and professions," and "globalizing bureaucrats." The top-scoring individual globalizer was Paul Keating, the former Labor Prime Minister. Apparently several corporate respondents to the survey cited him with reluctance, pointing to the "irony of the Labor Party having emerged as the party of globalization." Also important to the individual category were public servants, economists, members of the corporate elite, and academics.[17]

Sklair finds that "the rapidity, success and ease of the transition to globalization is clearly explicable in terms of the continuity and congruence of interests between the corporate and the political elites." He considers that from the mid-1980s those ruling Australia's key institutional sectors were in agreement about the need to globalize, and the form it should take. This suggests evidence for "the existence and power of a globalizing capitalist class."

Until the 1970s the corporate elite — local and foreign — were united with the administrative and political elites on the need to protect the local market. But by the 1980s this had changed; both resident foreign transnational corporations and local ones such as BHP, began to see the limitations of the domestic market for profitability, and worked to change the rules in their favor, by virtually eliminating protection. Hence Sklair's conclusion that the State is now no longer the prime mover in the global capitalist system; the real power lies in "the transnational capitalist class and the transnational corporations that sustain its global hegemony."[18]

The consequences, as have been pointed out by Gary Sauer-Thompson and Joseph Wayne Smith, are that:

> *Australia can be stripped bare, as technological economic rationalism holds that it is nothing but an exploitable resource for predatory transnationals seeking to make a profit for their shareholders. The Enlightenment turned technological has become an ideological screen for an increasingly authoritarian business democracy in which we have basically one political party with two right wings.*[19]

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NOTES

[1] *UNCTAD World Investment Report: Transnational corporations, Employment and the Workplace*, Geneva, 1994.

[2] United Nations Center on Transnational corporations, *Government Policies and Foreign Direct Investment*, UN, New York, 1991, Tables 3 and 5.

[3] *International Investment Position*, Australian Bureau of Statistics, August 1996.

[4] Brian Fitzpatrick and E.L. Wheelwright, *The Highest Bidder: A Citizen's Guide to Problems of Foreign Investment*

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in Australia, Lansdowne Press, Melbourne, 1965, pp. xvi-xviii, and p.196.

[5] Greg Crough and Ted Wheelwright, *Australia: A Client States*, Penguin, Australia, Melbourne, 1982, p.4 (published in Japanese, 1984).

[6] op.cit., p.5.

[7] op.cit., p.7.

[8] *Foreign Investment Review Board Report, 1994-95*, Canberra, March 1996.

[9] *Annual Report for 1995 of the Australian Stock Exchange*, Sydney, 1996.

[10] Abe David and Ted Wheelwright, *The Third Wave: Australia and Asian Capitalism*, Left Book Club, Sydney, 1989.

[11] *Corporate Review*, Vol. 4, No. 4, 1994, p.20.

[12] *The Australian*, December 30, 1995.

[13] Leslie Sklair, ed., *Capitalism and Development*, Routledge, London, 1994, p.179.

[14] Richard Crockett, *Thinking the Unthinkable: Think-Tanks and the Economic Counter-Revolution, 1931-83*, HarperCollins, London, 1994. See also "Political Economy: Past, Present and Future" by Ted Wheelwright in *Pacific Basin Studies Review*, Vol. 5, No. 3, 1994, Queensland University of Technology.

[15] Arran Gare, "Globalization, Postmodernity, and the Environment," in *Arena Journal*, No. 4, Melbourne, 1995.

[16] Leslie Sklair, "Who Are the Globalizers? A Study of Key Globalizers in Australia," *Journal of Australian Political Economy*, No. 38, December 1996.

[17] Apart from Keating, other Labor Party politicians noted as individual globalizers included Button and Hawke; the corporate elite were led by Prescott and Murdoch; the "capitalist-inspired politicians" were led by Kelly, Hyde, McLaughlin and Carnegie; the only "globalizing bureaucrat" named was Rattigan.

[18] op.cit., p.28.

[19] Gary Sauer-Thompson and Joseph Wayne Smith, *Beyond Economics: Postmodernity, Globalization and National Sustainability*, Avebury, Ashgate Publishing Ltd., Aldershot, England, 1996, p.247.

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An Australian Overview

Lessons for other immigrant-receiving nations

by Mark Uhlmann

Australians generally know little about their history and don't have much of a sense of the country's strategic position. For most, the British hand-over of Hong Kong to China was an exotic foreign news story. It was interesting, but not seen as something of direct relevance to them.

But the hand-over of Hong Kong formally ends a period of transition which began with the fall of Singapore to the Japanese in February 1942. The fall of Singapore, described as the British Empire's darkest day, was also Australia's most crushing military defeat.

In the Japanese sweep through Southeast Asia a total of 22,000 Australian soldiers were captured and used as slave-laborers. Their treatment was so brutal that one in three of them died in captivity. Singapore's fall underlined the fact that we could no longer rely upon Britain for military support.

It was clear [during World War II] that invasion by Japan would mean not only enslavement, as our captured soldiers had been enslaved, but the obliteration of our way of life.

The hand-over of Hong Kong sees the final withdrawal of Britain from our area of strategic interest. In one sense, it merely puts the seal on the reality which began with Singapore, but it has important symbolic importance. It represents a time to reflect on how Australia has responded to the need for change since the end of World War II.

Australia was quite justified in establishing the White Australia policy in 1901, but it was also right to abolish it in the late 1960s. Australia, which had engaged in Vietnam as an ally of the United States and for reasons of forward defense against communism, was quite right to accept some Vietnamese refugees, but it was wrong to allow abuses of our immigration system by non-Europeans to happen as a sort of compensation for the White Australia policy.

Right up until the late 1970s the policies Australian governments had in common — in other words the accepted national parameters — were overwhelmingly supported by the general public. The battleground occurred within those parameters, but from the late 1970s, with the policy of multiculturalism, and the early 1980s with dramatic immigration and economic changes the national consensus was broken.

Recent Australian governments have handled the need for change very badly. They have failed to bring the bulk of the population with them and have for the most part arrogantly and insultingly dismissed their concerns. To understand the magnitude of the changes it is necessary to give an overview of some key Australian history.

Australia, which began as a collection of British colonies on a continent at the far flung ends of the earth, had responded to the challenge of being far from Europe and close to the teeming millions of Asia by largely excluding Asians from settlement and encouraging Europeans to take the long voyage south. This strategy worked very successfully while the Asian nations were weak, the British Navy an all powerful shield and our trade overwhelmingly with Britain and the Empire.

But with the fall of Singapore, Australia, with the exception of its Aboriginal population, almost entirely of European stock (and that overwhelmingly British), was for the first time threatened by an Asian invader.

Conquest by Asians was at the time Australia's worst nightmare, a nightmare with roots deeper than just the European settlement of the continent and

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the establishment of a formal whites-only immigration policy. It is a dread that seems to be part of a European folk memory.

Australians were a free people with a democratic system, something seen as totally at odds with Asian models. It was clear that invasion by Japan would mean not only enslavement, as our captured soldiers had been enslaved, but the obliteration of our way of life.

"In its time, Deakin's White Australia policy was regarded as progressive."

The Australian colonies in the 19th Century saw foreign European powers as the main military threats. The threat they saw from Asia was not military invasion, but unwanted immigration. This rose to the fore in the wake of large-scale Chinese immigration during the gold rush. The Chinese were indentured laborers prepared to work for very low wages. Labor organizations were at the forefront of those calling for their exclusion.

The Australian colonies adopted laws excluding the Chinese and one of the first pieces of legislation passed by united Australia after federation in 1901 was the so-called White Australia policy, limiting settlement to Europeans.

At first Australians did not take much notice of Japan as a potential threat. But in 1905 after it defeated Russia in a naval war the alarm bells rang. From that point on, even though Japan was allied to Britain and fought with the allies in World War I, it was seen, by strategic thinkers, such as Alfred Deakin, and Billy Hughes, Australia's Prime Minister in World War I, as the major military threat.

Japan also urged Britain to put pressure on Australia to alter its White Australia policy to make exceptions for Japanese.

Australia resisted the pressure and to underline the displeasure with Britain, then-Prime Minister Alfred Deakin invited Britain's rival, the United States, to send out a fleet on a goodwill mission, though foreign policy was still officially conducted by Britain. The U.S. Great White Fleet, so called for the color of its ships, arrived in 1908 to great acclaim. The British, with the example of losing the American colonies always at the forefront of their minds, got the message.

Over 59,000 Australians died in World War I, mainly on the Western Front, and Hughes, at the Paris peace conference following the war, used the moral authority of that loss to promote Australian security interests.

As Roger C. Thompson notes in *Australian Imperialism in the Pacific*, Hughes insisted on Australia's claim to German New Guinea, in the face of opposition from U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, who opposed any annexation of former German colonies. Hughes clashed with Wilson who accused Hughes of a willingness to "defy the whole civilized world." The hard-headed Hughes, mocking Wilson's self-regarding idealism, said the president was right, that was precisely what he was prepared to do.

He also defiantly defended the White Australia policy in the face of Japanese diplomatic moves, which at first had the sympathy of Wilson. Hughes, a small man, was depicted in a humorous cartoon of the time as an angry little Horatio at the Bridge, hopping up and down in front of the inscription "White Australia".

He also opposed Japanese and American pressure for an open-door policy to New Guinea. He wanted to exclude Japan from the area in immediate proximity to Australia. Hughes also wanted to claim the formerly German north Pacific islands, claimed by Japan. And if Australia could not have them, then neither should Japan, as Australia "profoundly distrusts" the nation. The islands contain "many harbors, several of which are capable of holding very large fleets."

Hughes, as it happens, was precisely right about the Japanese threat. If he had not acted as he did, Japan may well have had a foothold right on Australia's doorstep, making a direct strike against Australia that much more feasible and effective. Hughes was very clear-headed about strategy. The White Australia policy, which he so vigorously defended, also made sense for its time. While this policy is presented as nasty and racist these days, in fact in its time it was regarded as progressive.

Apart from pressure from labor organizations and sympathetic publications such as *The Bulletin*, it was Deakin who largely fashioned the policy. His

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strategy was to build up local working conditions by excluding cheap labor, meaning in practice at that time, colored labor. The fear was that business would use an open door to such labor to drive down wages and diminish working conditions.

But if settlement was restricted to Europeans and capital given protection from imports, workers could be paid a decent wage, labor could obtain a dignity instead of being a slave-like toil, workers could feel a part of the life of the nation and the common racial characteristics would bind all classes together in a sense of national unity.

While crude racism was expressed by some, it had no part in the thinking of liberals like Deakin, who saw the American experience with slavery as a caution. As Bob Birrell notes in his book *A Nation of Our Own*, Deakin stated that excluding cheap colored labor from northern Australia (a region equivalent to the U.S. South) involved economic sacrifices, but "those sacrifices for the future of Australia are little ... when compared with the compensating freedom from the trials, sufferings and losses that nearly wrecked the Great Republic of the West [the American Civil War]."

"To the earlier politicians who shaped it, the Australia of today would have been inconceivable."

There would be no slaves or semi-slaves in the north, sowing the seeds of national division. Where industries existed which had used such labor, such as the Queensland sugar cane fields, employers would be compensated for having to pay higher wages by tariff protection.

With the Japanese sweep though Southeast Asia, Australia's Prime Minister for most of World War II, John Curtin, in an article in the *Melbourne Herald* on 26 December 1941, which became famous, signaled his intention to turn to the United States. U.S. troops, under the command of General Douglas MacArthur, came in large numbers to Australia, which was used as the major land base in the fight back against Japan.

Welcoming the great ally with relief, Curtin pledged that Australians would also fight to the last. In a radio broadcast in March 1942 Curtin, himself of Irish Catholic descent, said: "Never shall an enemy set forth upon the soil of this country without having arrayed against it the whole of the manhood of this nation; with such strength and quality that this nation will forever remain the home of sons of Britishers, who come in peace in order to establish in the South Seas an outpost of the British race."

To Curtin and the earlier politicians who shaped Australia, the country of today would have been inconceivable. The attitudes of these men were a reflection of those of their people.

This background is given to underline the fact that early Australian governments had a very clear-headed strategy for the country and were prepared to stand up to pressure in order to achieve their aims. They were prepared to turn to "great and powerful friends" where necessary, and also knew how to appeal to their people. Their decisions were very valid decisions for their times, but the times were changing.

At war's end, the close shave with Japan led to a belief that Australia had to quickly increase its population, then standing at 7 million, to economically develop the nation and meet any new threat. Not enough migrants were available from the preferred source, Britain, so, for the first time, large numbers were accepted from continental countries, particularly southern Europe. Immigration Minister Arthur Calwell referred to them as new Australians. Australians were promised that this would not upset their existing way of life, but such a dramatic change was bound to have an impact. In the 1970s the changes wrought by this new immigration were used to justify the establishment of the government policy of multiculturalism.

Less than a human lifetime on from the Fall of Singapore, the official Australian attitude toward Asia has changed profoundly. Once the aim was to keep Asia at bay, but, from 1983 the official policy under the Australian Labor Party governments of Prime Ministers Bob Hawke and Paul Keating was to embrace Asia. It was not only to embrace, but, particularly as articulated by Foreign Minister Gareth Evans and a clique of Foreign Affairs bureaucrats, favored academics and journalists, to look forward to

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the day when Australia was entirely absorbed by Asia, racially and culturally. A self-named "Asiacrat", leading academic Stephen Fitzgerald, a former ambassador to China, was prepared to advocate a political confederation with Asian nations.

It is hardly surprising that many, if not most, Australians, reared on the old model, found this change staggering. The governments of the day seemed to regard their bewilderment with contempt. At the same time that this was occurring the policy of multiculturalism, which effectively set up "ethnic" organizations under government patronage, had led to a fragmenting of Australia's sense of nationhood.

Ethnic leaders, initially without much support from their local communities, but backed by academics and bureaucrats, launched attacks on the "old" Australian population, which was given the designation "Anglo-Celtic", but which also included a minority of people with forebears from such nations as Germany and Italy. Effectively the term referred to anyone of European stock whose only or first language was English and whose forebears arrived in Australia before World War II. In other words, the unhyphenated Australians.

Ironically, people of this profile among the intelligentsia were at the forefront of those making the attacks. Politicians of the same profile increasingly joined them. So the Anglo-Celts found that their intellectual leaders, who once reflected their opinions, had in fact turned against them and their forebears.

Instinctively they knew the attacks were unfair, but not being organized and not knowing much about their history, they were unable to effectively counter them. So they were largely left without intellectual defenses against the assault.

While this assault involved supposed terrible treatment of postwar migrants of all non-Anglo-Celtic types, the most effective points of attack were on the past racially-exclusive immigration policy and attitudes to Asians, but particularly past treatment of Aborigines.

Again and again when the fashionable elites have wanted a stick with which to beat old Australia and old Australians, they have turned to Aborigines. Professionals from the multiculturalist and human rights industries have become very skilled at using Aborigines as a stalking horse for achieving their own agendas. The displacement of the Aborigines in their view and the white Australia policy denies the European settlers the moral legitimacy to object to high immigration levels or to object to the policy of multiculturalism.

A raft of programs were set up in which people of "non-English speaking background" were given preferential treatment. Illegal immigrants, aided by local human rights lawyers, increasingly used scarce legal aid to fight through the courts for the right to stay in Australia.

To make matters worse, as this was occurring Australia was experiencing a painful economic transition. The doctrine of free trade and the level playing field had taken hold and tariff protection was being cut back. Australian industry was hard hit. Australian companies were being taken over by foreign interests at an alarming rate. Foreigners were snapping up prime Australian properties and our governments were expediting all of it. Unemployment rose dramatically.

"So, in less than a lifetime, Australian policy had shifted 180 degrees."

So, in less than a lifetime, Australian policy had shifted 180 degrees. The big difference was that while the earlier policy had the overwhelming support of the populace the latter was deeply resented.

The early strategy promoted a sense of national unity and was also simple to understand and, in the case of immigration at least, administer. The new approach, largely a reaction to the past policy, is complex and incoherent. It is not based in a belief in nation building and a firmly grounded appreciation of the national interest, but in response to guilt, imagined international opinion and a desire to please minority interest groups. It seems to wax and wane in official expression and allows all sorts of abuses to occur, particularly in the areas of immigration and multiculturalism.

The problem for the majority was that the political opposition was, at various times, unwilling or unable to provide a viable alternative. The most vocal

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sections of Australian educated elites, including a majority of journalists, supported the ALP and were quick to add their weight to campaigns against any Opposition politician who dared to question the new orthodoxy.

Present Prime Minister John Howard learned that to his cost in 1988 when he said social cohesion would be enhanced if the rate of Asian immigration was "slowed down a little."

Prime Minister Howard, now that he is in government, basically supports the economic changes, but has shown that he is skeptical of much of the ALP social agenda. The 1996 election result, which handed the ALP a thrashing and saw the defeat of some of its most politically correct ministers, including the Attorney-General Michael Lavarch and the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, Robert Tickner, convinced him of the unpopularity of much of what the ALP espoused. However he is unable to dismantle the core policies the ALP instituted, or entrenched — which have the support of many politicians on his side — though he has attempted to modify them.

"Australian governments have given too much away, with too little return."

This is not to say that we should simply return to the old policies. Australia had to change, both economically and in social policy, and the hand-over of Hong Kong starkly underlines why it had to change.

The need to change was apparent to astute observers soon after World War II. Britain was steadily declining as a major power and a major trading partner. Britain itself turned increasingly away from its former colonies and toward Europe. Decolonization by Britain and other European powers in Asia, including the Dutch in Indonesia, led to the rise of new Asian nations with which Australia had to deal.

Another reason for change was the rise in importance of Asian nations to Australia as trading partners, particularly our former enemy Japan, now our number one trading partner. Only 12 years after World War II, in 1957, Australia, under Prime Minister Robert Menzies, signed a trade treaty with Japan and renegotiated the treaty with Britain, which allowed the import of more non-British goods. So old Australia, even under a Prime Minister regarded as a strong Anglophile, saw the need to change.

Australia is and always has been a trading nation. It is dependent on exports and foreign investment. No matter how much some may long for a sort of autarky, Australia will continue to rely on trade and so it makes obvious sense to develop good relations with major trading partners. Australia's major sea trade routes are controlled by Asian nations.

The development of good relations with Asian nations was vital, but rather than developing a hard-headed set of policies which would serve the best interests of Australia as well as gaining respect in the region, Australian governments, since the early 1980s, have rushed to surrender.

Of all the major strategic changes in Australian history, this has been the worst handled. Australian governments have given too much away, with too little return. We are left with deeply unpopular economic and social policies as well as a public relations disaster in the Asian region, where, in spite of all the painful changes, particularly to immigration, we are, as a result of a grass-roots backlash and the local media reporting and distortion of that backlash, presented as a racist nation.

This backlash is manifested in the figure of the Federal Member for Oxley, Pauline Hanson, who won the previously safe ALP-seat as an independent in a landslide after being disendorsed by the Liberal Party over comments she made about Aboriginal affairs. She is a politically insubstantial, but brave, person who has recognized the elements of discontent, particularly with regard to immigration and Aboriginal Affairs policies, but has catered to them crudely. Her supporters are mainly among the old Australian working class and the unemployed.

She has become a popular punching bag for the local media, and the ratbag university-based Left has organized a series of violent demonstrations against her. The international media in turn have largely been led and urged on by sections of the Australian media, so that Pauline Hanson has not only become a hate-figure in the Asian region, her exaggerated image is presented as the true nature of many, if not most, Australians.

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This is dangerous, as the unctuous hand-wringers of the world, including in the powerful U.S. Department of State, have now turned their eyes to Australia. Their posturings, from what is regarded as the moral high ground, with the urging and aid of local "human rights" lobbies, have the capacity to damage our national interests.

But it must be underlined: the inept handling of the need for change by Australian Governments, beginning in the 1980s, and their arrogant disregard for the feelings of the majority, have led directly to the Hanson phenomenon. The elites who so rail against her are the very ones who created her in the first place.

"We need a renovation, not a revolution."

Neither the elites nor Hanson have the answers needed to unite Australians, which, given the pressures we will face in the coming century, including the immigration pressures of the growing population to our north, are vital for our advance.

What then is to be done? The first thing to do is to turn to Australian history to see where Australian governments and Australian popular movements have got it right and to take instruction from that in the light of present circumstances.

We need a renovation, not a revolution.

Before this failure, Australian governments generally responded intelligently to the strategic imperatives of their times. Where they overstepped the mark, popular pressure led to change of governments and/or policies.

Though it is fashionable to present past governments not only as racist, but as lick-spittles of the British and Americans, in fact in general they proceeded with a healthy understanding of Australia's best interests and limitations, particularly in the late 19th Century and the period preceding World War I, the formative years of the united Australian nation. They understood that Australia, as a small nation, needed powerful friends.

The colonies maintained the shield of the British Empire, while managing, on significant occasions, to direct the energies of Britain to their own advantage. When Victoria and other colonies, and eventually infant Australia, adopted protective tariffs, it was to the disadvantage of British traders, yet the Empire connection remained strong.

The colonies and infant Australia skillfully mapped out a domestic and nascent foreign policy under the umbrella of British protection, using its own form of domestic pressure when necessary and also at times appealing directly over the heads of governments to British public opinion.

Australia, which lacks the strength to shape world affairs, must again skillfully negotiate a position in the gaps left by the changing international circumstances. We must realize our limitations as our forebears did.

The first limitation relates to Asia. We cannot adopt racially discriminatory immigration policies again after effectively dismantling them. In the late 1960s under Prime Minister Harold Holt it was wise to dispense with the White Australia policy. It is absolute folly to try to reintroduce it in the present strategic circumstances.

Not only would this involve isolating ourselves in the region, it would invite pressure and even sanctions from allies such as the United States, which has powerful domestic lobbies which would rail against us. The only sensible immigration course is to insist on a low intake — 50,000 a year — which is targeted to jobs available and has a generous refugee component of 10,000 to 15,000 people. Such a program would not adversely affect Australia's social balance and could be defended anywhere.

On the other hand we must insist on our differences. We are a nation with a Western European heritage. It is stupidity to try, in a vain attempt to fit in, to pretend that we are not. We are not an Asian nation. We, with New Zealand, are unique in the region and we should be proud of that. Showing confidence in what we are and dealing with Asian nations with respect for our mutual differences will gain us respect in the region. We should also not presume to publicly lecture them on human rights, but take a diplomatic approach.

The policy of multiculturalism must be dismantled and a policy of integration into the mainstream reintroduced. Again, properly done, this policy could be defended anywhere. Given their own policies, our Asian neighbors are hardly in a position to object.

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Just as our forebears at the turn of the century built up manufacturing, so we must rebuild from a devastated base. A sensible assessment of our strengths should be undertaken and a policy adopted to promote them.

Sensitive policies in Aboriginal Affairs are needed, but there must be an accounting of public moneys. Aborigines should be encouraged to stand on their own feet and not be dependent on government welfare. Most will readily embrace a system which promotes this and insists on fair accounting. This will also increase the confidence of white Australians that money is not being wasted.

"The policy of multiculturalism must be dismantled and a policy of integration into the mainstream introduced. ...We have to start with the principle of looking after our own backyard first."

The disinformation in the guilt campaigns of the local "human rights" lobbies must be countered. For example it is widely believed locally and internationally that far more Aborigines than whites die in custody in Australia. This is untrue. Far more whites than blacks die in custody and successive reports have found the proportionate death rates of whites and blacks to be roughly equal. (See *Australia Betrayed*, p.95).

A deliberately misleading media campaign, backed by lobbyists, bureaucrats and even our own governments, which gives massive publicity to every black death and very little if any to white deaths has led to this big lie's being entrenched. What is out of proportion is the arrest rate. Proportionally, far more blacks than whites are arrested, mainly for alcohol-related offences.

We must aim for good relations with the United States, but we must bear in mind the example of Singapore. We must not allow the U.S. to become our Singapore and think it will be our fortress if we are threatened by a hostile power. There is no guarantee of that. We must proceed on the basis that in the end, militarily we can only rely upon ourselves.

On the other hand there is considerable sympathy for Australia among large sections of the U.S. public. Should we have trouble with its government over such things as the excesses of "human rights" lobbies, there is always the option of going over the government's head and taking a case directly to the American people, as Deakin did with the British in negotiating the Bill for Australian Federation.

So we will need effective Australian communicators working for us in all our major areas of concern. The ineptness of our Foreign Affairs Department is underlined by the fact that it abolished a media affairs unit which had just this reach. Such a unit must be re-established and staffed by people who have a strong commitment to the best interests of Australia. Local government communicators should also be prepared to quickly counter the disinformation of our own local lobbies. We must look outward and engage with nations around the world, but have a strong sense of national identity. The recent fragmentation of Australian society makes that a more difficult task than that which faced our forebears, but it is by no means an impossible one.

We have to again find the balance between local independence and the need for foreign investment. We have to start with the principle of looking after our own backyard first and also engage with the world, not merely Asian nations.

Finding and implementing the right strategy is a psychological problem as much as it is a material one, but if we get the basic parameters right, Australia will be in a sound position to face the great challenges that surely lie ahead. TSC

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On the Origin of Distrust of Immigration In Australia

Too many conflicting figures, who to believe?

by Rodney Spencer

Could it be that official immigration statistics bear no resemblance to the real immigrant numbers and consequently projections for the size and future ethnic composition of the Australian population are not accurate?

In England recently, the Head of the U.K. Immigration service from 1981-1989, Peter Tompkins, said, "For ten years I was head of the UK Immigration service. I have long known that the Home Office statistics bear no relation at all to the true facts on immigration."[1] "The actual rate was more than twice the official one." He also said "It is vital to everyone to get the figures right" and "Phoney figures do no one favors."

The purpose of this paper is to show that similar circumstances of deliberate mis-information apply in Australia. All the "debate" on immigration and multiculturalism has been based on inaccurate and phoney figures and thus any conclusions drawn are wildly inaccurate and greatly underestimate all the effects of immigration as well as the consequences of altering the entire racial and ethnic composition of the Australian people.

Imagine the hypothetical situation where Australia receives 1 million migrants per year and 1 million Australians departed overseas permanently. Using current methods, this would be reported as zero net migration. Such a scenario would have little effect on population numbers but it would have a massive effect on the economy, environment and social structure of the country. Additionally, if the 1 million migrants were from a difficult to assimilate minority ethnic group who were poor, with low education and skills, little English, high unemployment levels and high fertility and were replacing wealthy, highly skilled and upwardly mobile Australians going overseas, then anyone can see the massive impact this would have. An unobjective media would probably only report that Australia had zero net migration and therefore feel no need to consider any economic, environmental or social consequences!

Mr. Randolph Alwis, President of the Federation of Ethnic Community Councils of Australia while debating on SBS radio on February 17, 1997 with Dr. Charles Price of the Australian Immigration Research Centre in Canberra and myself, disagreed on migrant numbers and ethnicity. Alwis said the net overseas migration (NOM) for the past year was 56,000, whereas Dr. Price and I said it was between 114,000 (the official Australian Bureau of Statistics Figure) and 133,000 (to include uncounted categories of illegals, some change of status, New Zealanders, etc.). Mr. Ruddock, Immigration Minister, in a press release on February 20, 1997, stated that net permanent migration was 70,469.

So here we have four figures describing Australia's immigration intake: 56,000, 70,469, 114,000 and 133,000. Yet another figure, and probably the most accurate of all, can be calculated by counting all the people coming into and out of Australia, subtracting the departures from the arrivals and the result is the number of people staying in Australia per year. For 1995-6, these figures [2] are:

arrivals	6,798,200
departures	6,687,500
intake	110,700

This includes 28,670 Australians leaving the country permanently and who notified the authorities accordingly, but also to this must be added the one or two percent of Australians who travel overseas on short term visas and do not return. For 1996, this was 55,000. In total therefore, 83,700

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Australians left in 1996 and did not return. So, of the 6,798,200 arrivals, only 6,603,730 depar-ted. That is, 194,470 people stayed in Australia.

From this figure, corrections must be made to cover visitor lag from the increasing number of overseas visitors to Australia, correction for Australians returning after years away or after "permanent" departure. Against these figures we must set the converse lag in increasing overseas visits by Australians both short and long term. Some other minor categories do not affect numbers greatly. Dr. Charles Price considers all the above categories to account for approximately 34,500 people. My calculations from ABS figures is similar at 35,000. The complex calculations are available on request. The difference in figures related to a slight variation in statistics for the year ending December 31st to that ending June 30th, 1996.

Subtracting the corrections of 35,000 from the 194,470 people who entered Australia in 1996, leaves an intake of 159,470.

This is roughly three times the estimate of FECCA, more than double the government's figures as per Mr. Ruddock but in line with American experience of "Missing Airline Passengers"[3] where over 1 million unaccounted-for arrivals stay per year.

Studies of a similar type have been done for Australia by Dr. Charles Price[4] and have revealed about 47,700 uninvited overstayers per year for the years 1981-1991. Of these 477,000 people, what I call hopeful illegal immigrants, the government granted permanent residence to 125,000 over the 10 years leaving 350,000 floating around. How stupid does this make the Government estimate of illegals of 80,000 or more ridiculous still, the Department of Immigration, Ethnic and Multicultural Affairs estimate of 47,600 illegals. If figures for overstayers (illegal migrants) up to 1996 are used, one must conclude at least 500,000 illegal migrants are here in Australia, living, working, obtaining social security benefits, using our schools, hospitals and services.

Remember John Friedreichs, the head of the State Emergency Services in Victoria, who drove the organization into debt, destroyed it and who finally committed suicide? He was an illegal migrant by the name of Holstein, living with all the advantages of an Australian lifestyle — it's that easy.

So if the numbers bear no resemblance to reality, what of the projected ethnic outcome for Australia? Mr. Alwis from FECCA said 50% of the migrants were Anglo Saxon — much to the chagrin of the demographer Charles Price who, even though pro-immigration, cares for accuracy as a pre-condition to sensible debate. Dr. Price has said that 75% of migrants come from non-English speaking backgrounds.[5] Of the 25% from English speaking background, approximately one half return to their country of origin, therefore leaving approximately 10% of our population increase through immigration of Anglo Celtic ethnicity. That is, roughly 90% of our population increase through immigration are non-English speaking third world settlers.

Dr. Price has said the Anglo Celtic population will decline in Australia from 77% in 1978 to about 58% in 2040,[6] and that Australia will be 27% Asian in 23 years[7] — and these projections have been made on the official figures!

During 1996, 159,470 people, of whom only 10% were of western cultural origins, came in to Australia and stayed. It is time to honestly address what affect such immigration will have on our country, our identity, our population, our cities, our economy, our culture and our way of life. The Australian people no longer trust their government and its immigration policy. Australians have a right to know their destiny. TSC

NOTES

[1] *UK Mail*, Australian Edition, Monday, February 13, to Sunday, February 19, 1995, p. 6.

[2] ABS Figures 3101.0, 1997.

[3] "Missing Airline Passengers," by Lindsey Grant, *The Social Contract*, Vol. III, No. 4, Summer, 1993.

[4] "Net Immigration and Population Growth," *People and Place*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1993, Australian Forum for Population Studies, Monash, Melbourne.

[5] Letter from Dr. Charles Price to Mr. Alwis; President FECCA, dated March 3, 1997.

[6] Letters to the Editor from Dr. Charles Price, *The Australian*, March 29, 1997.

[7] "Quarter-Asian Australia," by David Jenkins, *Sydney Morning Herald*, December 4, 1993.

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Reverse Racism in Australia

The 'black armband' view of history is divisive

by Geoffrey Blainey

In the past two decades a tidal wave of opinion has swept across a big section of educated Australia. It has challenged and changed the way people think about the nation's past, and especially about Aborigines. This new wave is a mixture of compassion and political cunning, high principle and lack of principle. Curiously, a citadel of the new attitude is the High Court.

This view of history is increasingly called the "black armband" view. Prime Minister John Howard recently opposed it in his Menzies memorial lecture, and his words provoked indignant replies from people as diverse as Gough Whitlam and Lois O'Donoghue. The gist of their complaint is that Howard is trying to sanitize Australia's past. My view is that he is probably trying to restore sanity.

Geoffrey Blainey is Australia's preeminent historian whose 1984 remarks on Asian immigration started the controversy still underway. This article is reprinted by permission from The Bulletin *of April 8, 1997.*

For the past 97 years[1] most Australians have tended to see their nation's history as a wide-ranging success. In their eyes the blunders and defects have been far out-weighed by the merits.

In the black armband view [of Australia's history]... the minuses virtually wipe out the pluses. Such a swing in the overall interpretation of the past has happened before but it is the speed of this swing, and its effects on the nation's life, that invite comment.

Among the merits are the shaping of one of the world's oldest continuing democracies, the pioneering of a harsh environment, the winning of a high standard of living, and a conspicuous role in fighting on what was once seen as the side of virtue in two world wars.

Laments

The black armband view disputes this picture. It often laments Australia's abuse of the natural environment, attitudes to women and minorities, and above all the treatment of the Aborigines. In its view the minuses virtually wipe out the pluses. Such a swing in the overall interpretation of the past has happened before but it is the speed of this swing, and its effects on the nation's life, that invite comment. In my mind the swing, useful in pointing to past wrongs, has run wild. Common sense is the victim. Moreover the black armband view, while pretending to be anti-racist, is intent on permanently dividing Australia on the basis of race.

Many historians preach a black armband view, especially when they write on black-white relations; but the view is more emphatic outside than inside history books. It is noticeable on the TV news, ABC radio, and the high-brow dailies. It is vigorous in the Canberra-based media, whose members mostly cheered aloud when the goal of black armband ideology, the Native Title Bill, was bulldozed through federal parliament by the Keating Government which, it now transpires, did not know what the bill portended. In fairness to Paul Keating he could not know, partly because that black armband tribunal, the High Court, was still in the

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process of discovering the law.

Australia's history is clearly in dispute, and there will never be full agreement. For example, some commentators imply that the Aborigines should have been left to live in isolation in Australia and that outsiders should never have settled here. This opinion is unrealistic. The Aborigines of today clearly have no serious wish to return to the way of life, often attractive, which their ancestors lived in 1788.

"The Native Title Act tries to revive a past that is beyond resurrection."

Many Australian wearers of the black armband also insist that it was disgraceful that the British took over this land without paying compensation for real estate and without signing a treaty. I have sympathy with their view, but what do they think should have happened?

There is probably no way in which an Aboriginal treaty could have been signed in 1788 — a treaty that was clearly understood by both sides. Nor is there any way in which land could have been fairly purchased. The British and Aboriginal concepts of authority, ownership, and land usage were too far apart for each side to understand the other. The difficulty was much more acute here than in the overwhelming majority of the world's lands invaded or entered by outsiders. For tens of thousands of Aborigines the resultant loss, pain and bewilderment was extreme.

Even if there had been a flood of good will on both sides in 1788, most of the Aboriginal people would tragically have died through diseases to which they had no immunity. Diseases such as smallpox spread with lightning speed and often leapt hundreds of kilometers ahead of the white shepherds and settlers.

Dispossession

At least two judges of the High Court appear not to have completed their research on the facts of the Aboriginals' dispossession, facts which they said were "of critical importance" in their deciding whether native title still exists. Justice Deane and Justice Gaudron did not know that disease was the main killer of Aborigines. They preferred to pin the blame on the British and look for ways of compensating Aborigines for what they called "a national legacy of unutterable shame."

It endangers the good name of the High Court when its judges gather their evidence in private, rather than through the cut and thrust of argument and the testing of evidence in an open court. It does positive harm when certain judges then pontificate in emotive tones on the basis of near-ignorance. There is no appeal — until the 1980s there was — against the mistakes of members of the High Court in a case of such national importance.

It might be asked, "where did the High Court imbibe its crusading zeal which made it forget the need to conduct a public hearing that might be seen to be just?" After all, the land on Eddie Mabo's Murray Island was the subject of the normal, visible judicial process; but the question of native title on Aboriginal lands — a much more complicated question — was decided in a strange way. Some of the groups whose interests proved to be in grave jeopardy — urban Aborigines and outback pastoral leaseholders — were not permitted even to present their case.

There is much to be regretted and even ashamed of in Australia's past. But the High Court's judgment on Mabo and the passing of the Native Title Act both seemed eminently fair and reasonable because of the fanfare of heartfelt morality that fortified the High Court and a majority of members of the federal parliament.

The Native Title Act rests on a genuine concern for principle and yet judged by that principle it might well be called unprincipled. It embodies a crusade against racial discrimination and yet it sets up a new form of racial discrimination. Land blessed by the Native Title Act is specifically placed under the control of people of one race. It is land with racial cords attached.

Surrender

As the Brisbane legal scholar John Forbes said recently: "It is part of Mabo doctrine that native title is non-assignable, except by surrender to the crown, or within the relevant clan" (in

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daily conversation we would probably say "tribe"). The typical land received by Aborigines under native title is intended to be in the hands of one race for perpetuity!

As the Native Title Act runs its course, vast areas of Australia will be reserved permanently for people of one race. Would the authors of this revolutionary Act think it also appropriate if land around Circular Quay was reserved in perpetuity for people, say, of Irish birth, or if land in Canberra is to be owned henceforth only by people of white ancestry?

"Those who one-sidedly depict the early European history of Australia are endangering ... the gains of recent years..."

The Native Title Act tries to revive a past that is beyond resurrection. The Act tries to return to systems of land tenure which in most parts of the world were discarded thousands of years ago. Notwithstanding all the ingenuity and merits of that old collectivist form of land tenure, it was sadly inefficient. Huge areas were needed to support few people. The old Aboriginal land system can no more be revived than can the spear or the blunderbuss.

The High Court's majority decision on Wik, delivered last December, continues the confusion. On present indications Wik probably means this: that Aboriginals will be given certain rights over a pastoral lease, and the holders of the pastoral lease and the livestock will retain certain rights. The Aboriginals can buy the sheep and the leasehold if they wish but the Europeans cannot buy the native title rights. Here is an ingenious form of racial discrimination. Nor is it a sensible way of apportioning natural resources in the best interests of a nation, especially a nation in some economic trouble.

Incentive

Australia has every incentive to uphold its own distinctive system of land tenure. The system is based on the principle that land is ultimately to be used in the interests of all Australians. Moreover, land should be used in changing ways as the society and economy alters. The High Court and the Native Title Act, gripped by their black armbands, have weakened that vital principle.

I respect and often admire Aboriginal people. I have long sympathized with the campaign for land rights, although I do not see it as a right. There is a powerful case for granting land; the question is how best to do it, on what terms, on what scale, and on what moral basis.

Don Watson, the talented historian who composed some of Keating's black armband speeches, as well as some of his balanced speeches, now complains that Howard and like-minded historians "pretend that the dark side of human nature doesn't exist." I blinked on reading Watson. When I coined the phrase "black armband view" in 1993, I acknowledged the dark side of human nature and went out of my way to describe how "the treatment of Aborigines was often lamentable."

Those who one-sidedly depict the early European history of Australia are endangering one of the gains of recent years: the willingness to examine the long years of traditional Aboriginal history with sympathy and understanding. Just as the history of European Australia can be denounced from a one-sided point of view, so too can the history of black Australia be depicted by the one-eyed as a story of savagery. To revert to such denunciations would be a loss to all Australians, black and white.

So long as the black armband view is influential — so long as it insists that the treatment of Aboriginals was so disgraceful that no reparations might be adequate, that no reconciliation can be certain of success, and that black racism is justified — then Australia's future as a legitimate nation and even as one nation is in doubt. TSC

NOTES

[1] For our North American readers: the reference is to Australia's founding as a federation of former colonies in 1901.

[2] Refers to a highly contentious land case.

[3] Another such case.

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Asianization of Australia

Review by Evonne Moore of a Position Paper

"The Grand Plan — Asianization of Australia:
Race, Place and Power" by Denis McCormack
30 pages Available at cost from the Social Contract Press
1-800-352-4843

This paper argues that Australia's elite developed a long-term plan and strategy to integrate Australia into Asia. This integration was to be pursued at political, economic and cultural-demographic levels. McCormack presents an impressive array of evidence to substantiate his case. The Asianization strategy was adopted by Australia's elite initially without the knowledge or support of the Australian people and, more recently, against the polled opinion of most Australians. The material McCormack assembled documents the growing separation of Australia's managerial elite from the aspirations and values of most Australians over the past thirty years.

It was the British who settled Australia and laid the roots of Australia's culture. Post-1945 migration to Australia was mainly from Britain and other European countries. Today, Australia remains largely a European society in cultural and racial terms. About 80 percent of Australians are people with European ancestors, two percent are the indigenous Aboriginal people, and some ten percent are of Asian ancestry. This last category has expanded rapidly, from a baseline of one percent, since the end of the Vietnam War, when Vietnamese boat people began arriving. In recent years, Asian immigration into Australia has expanded to make up 40-60 percent of yearly intakes.

From the nineteenth century, trade unions, political parties and most Australian people supported racially selective immigration. This support arose from a desire to restrict the inflow of cheap Asian labor in order to support the living standard of the working men and women of Australia and to protect the country's cultural heritage. In 1949, when the Labor Party was in power, Prime Minister Ben Chifley said that any tampering with this policy to secure economic gain for a small affluent minority or by a few impractical sentimentalists would arouse widespread indignation. After all, he noted, Australia was only asking for the same right as that recognized and practiced by all other nations, namely the right to decide the composition of its population. In less than fifty years, this stance has been completely overturned and this paper documents proof that the termites were in Chifley's own administration.

McCormack traces the bi-partisan dismantling of Australia's traditionally restrictive immigration policy using the system's own sources. (In passing, he refers to the significance of the year 1965 for both Australian and U.S. immigration policy.) This dismantling involved a certain amount of stealth and deception (now freely admitted) on the part of some bureaucrats, politicians and the reforming activists who worked to change Australia's' immigration policy. In a 1995 speech to the Australian Chinese Forum, the Labor Prime Minister Paul Keating proclaimed his government's Asian vision for Australia. Asia was where Australia's security and prosperity lay, he said; it was where a growing number of Australia's people came from and it was where Australia wanted to be. The Asianization-of-Australia strategy had never before been so clearly enunciated by a political leader. The revolution had indeed begun and it was now writ large on the wall for the Australian public to see.

Over the past twenty years, much of Australia's political and economic elite has been awestruck over the East Asian economic miracle. Great has been the eagerness to attach the Australian economy to the strong economic growth which many East Asian countries have recently enjoyed. The economic integration of Australia into Asia was sought by targeting Asian countries with Australian exports of minerals, energy and farm produce and encouraging Asian investment and Asian tourists into Australia. The current economic meltdown in Asia gives much pause for thought on this strategy. The cultural-demographic integration was to be achieved by promoting the new state religion of multi-

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culturalism, facilitating Asian immigration into Australia, using Australia's high quality (but cash-strapped) educational system to attract fee-paying Asian students, teaching Asian studies and languages in Australian schools and universities, and fostering cultural exchanges between Australia and East Asian countries.

At the political level — at the urging of foreign affairs bureaucrats, big companies and newspaper editors — Australian politicians kowtowed and cultivated friendly relationships with East Asian leaders. Concentrating virtually all foreign policy efforts on East Asia, they chose to shut their mouths about human rights abuses and environmental vandalism in nearby Asian countries. They initiated joint defense training and military exercises with Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia and nurtured the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum to promote free trade in the region. During the 1980s, armies of government-subsidized Asiacrat thinktanks, including economic, cultural and academic groups, sprang up. All of these groups promoted Australia's integration into Asia.

However, the entry of independent Member of Parliament Pauline Hanson onto Australia's political scene rocked the establishment. In her maiden speech in parliament in 1996, she stated that Australians were in danger of being swamped by Asians. The elite was horrified. Every newspaper in the country attacked her as a racist. While large numbers of Australians flocked to hear her speak, leftist thugs were bused in to disrupt her meetings.

In recent years, several Labor Party politicians have gone on the public record as saying that they do not care if most Australians end up looking Asian as the years pass. Talk about a cultural death wish! The arrogance of these politicians and their contempt for their own people and culture is staggering. Ostensibly the elite's consternation is that Hanson could damage Australia's standing in the Asian countries. Australian journalists have fallen over themselves to get the opinions of dictatorial Asian leaders on Australia's so-called "race debate." In an effort to squeeze money out of the government, educational and tourist bodies have blamed Hanson for damaging their Asia-centered foreign exchange-earning industries.

Two months before Hanson's bombshell speech McCormack's paper was presented, under police protection, to Australia's most prestigious Asiacrat conference, the twentieth anniversary conference of the Asian Studies Association of Australia. To date, this paper is the only document on the history of the attempt to integrate Australia into Asia, which has been placed firmly on the public record. McCormack's paper has been tabled in Australia's federal parliament by Graeme Campbell, independent Member of Parliament and leader of the fledgling nationalist Australia First Party. A copy of the paper (together with a copy of the Winter 1996-97 issue of THE SOCIAL CONTRACT, Vol. VII, No. 2) has been presented to all federal politicians, including the Prime Minister's office, which requested an extra copy, and to many senior journalists and political commentators. While McCormack has been named in parliament as having contributed to the rise of Pauline Hanson, his arguments on the Asianization strategy have not been challenged by any political or academic commentator. His paper has drawn favorable comment from serious long-term observers of migration into developed countries in the United Kingdom, France, Germany and the United States.

A reflection of McCormack's thesis has come most recently from a senior Singaporean Minister, Information and Arts Minister George Yeo, who is also the Second Minister for Trade and Industry. Questioned by a journalist about the Hanson factor, Yeo said that he was confident that Australia would become more and more a multi-racial society. The Asianization of Australia, he said, enjoys a broad consensus in Australian society, especially among members of the political and economic establishment. Yeo commented that the recent brouhaha over immigration into Australia was to be expected because it was not possible for such a sweeping reorientation of Australia toward East Asia to be achieved without intense domestic debate and minor social upheavals. In fact, he said, he was surprised this uproar had not taken place earlier. Yeo appears unaware that critics of a massively unpopular immigration program have long been suppressed and denounced as dissident racist scum by Australia's elite. McCormack's paper is part of the rising tide of democratic revolt against this suppression. TSC

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In the Interest of Clarity

Campbell and McCormack visit five Asian capitals, discuss Australia's immigration policy

by Denis McCormack

Readers of THE SOCIAL CONTRACT may recall the Winter 1996-97 articles relating to the beginning of the Pauline Hanson phenomenon in Australia (Vol.VII, No.2, p.101). One line in her first speech to Parliament (10 Sept. 1996) precipitated an intensification of the immigration/race debate in Australia: "...we are in danger of being swamped by Asians." Every day since there has been some reference in the Australian media to Hanson, her speech (which she didn't write), her book, *The Truth*, (which she didn't write), or the prospects and goings on of her One Nation political party.

The Australian media's domestic and international campaign in response has become obvious to all: to create, promote and denigrate Hanson in the hope of breaking the national psyche on immigration, multiculturalism and Asianization. Within Asia, over 2,000 articles have appeared in English-language newspapers. These, for the most part, have been only too happy to further foment the issue with distorted reports from Australia, which are then dutifully bounced back here by Australian media stringers around the region. It was this campaign that Rep. Graeme Campbell (Independent - Kalgoorlie) and I hoped to short-circuit on our recent trip through Asia. A rushed twelve days through five large, crowded, polluted Asian capitals is not undertaken without good reason.

We were accorded a good hearing within all the relevant government foreign offices. We furnished them with much documentation in support of statements made in the media release. [See the accompanying box for that text.] The standard diplomatic response was: "Our government's view, naturally, is that the Australian immigration/race debate is an entirely Australian internal matter that

MEDIA RELEASE — December 3, 1997

CAMPBELLS' GOODWILL MISSION: TALKING TO ASIAN TIGERS

Graeme Campbell, Parliamentary leader of the Australia First Party, will be leaving on 7 December to undertake a goodwill mission around Asia and will be accompanied by Denis McCormack. Their itinerary covers Jakarta, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Bangkok and Hong Kong.

Mr. Campbell said, "In this time of increasing regional instability, it is in Australia's national interest to more accurately inform Asian governments and media outlets on the background of the so-called race/immigration debate; only then will they understand Prime Minister Howard's dilemma.

The recent ABS (Australian Bureau of Statistics) publication, *What Figures...*, which showcases its data sets, states "...people born in Asian regions have made up about 40% of the migrant stream to Australia over the last ten years." Asian ethnic strength has rapidly increased from 2% in 1978 to 9.6% 1997 according to Dr. Charles Price, Emeritus Professor, Demography, Australian National University (*Canberra Times*, May 18, 1997). He also stated that the real "immigration" figure for 1995/96 was 130,000 rather than Immigration Minister Ruddock's figure of 70,300. This is planned discrimination against the Anglo-Celt-European Australian majority which anyone is capable of understanding.

The valid concerns of the Australian majority relating to the irreversible environmental, economic and socio-cultural impacts of immigration numbers have been discounted through bi-partisanship and denigrated by the media whose shrill accusations of racism and xenophobia seem intended to cast mainstream Australia in the worst possible light internationally. Even professor David Flint, chairman of the Australian Broadcasting Authority and past chairman of the Australian Press Council recently commented on the role of the Australian press through its own "feeding frenzy ... indulging its own fantasies ... until the English language newspapers finally took notice." Mr. Campbell said that he feels obliged to do all he can to correct the problem through polite, frank discussions with the various regional governments on the forthcoming trip.

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will be resolved by Australians." We indicated our appreciation for that sensible position. In several countries, however, we tempered that appreciation by furnishing examples of unbalanced, uninformed commentary by some of their own prominent government representatives. We expressed the hope that the stance of their government, as it has been related to us, would be made clear within their own administrations in order to ensure that further misrepresentation can be avoided. The Malaysian Foreign Affairs people had no trouble understanding our concerns relating to Dr. Mahathir's "inundate the West" scenario. [See excerpts from Dr. Mahathir's speech on pp. 89-90.]

"The Malaysian Foreign Affairs people had no trouble understanding our concerns relating to Dr. Mahathir's 'inundate the West' scenario."

We met with more mixed response, however, at the offices of the various English language newspapers. Some (such as the *Jakarta Post*, the *South China Morning Post* and the *Hong Kong Standard*) were genuinely interested in receiving evidence of the other side of the story while lamenting the fact that, prior to our arrival, they were reliant exclusively on mainstream Australian media. Some newspapers in Asia followed through with fair and balanced reporting of our visit. Others, however, (such as the Bangkok *Nation* and the Singapore *Straits Times*) displayed from the start a clear agenda to "get whitey." Their logic appears to have run thus: since the Australian elites insist on flagellating themselves on race issues in their own media, why not give them a hand? Race is a touchy issue everywhere, and it sells newspapers.

It was interesting to note that all the diplomats and journalists we spoke with were aware of Pauline Hanson and the immigration/race debate in Australia. By contrast, our discussions with ordinary people during our travels revealed very few who had heard of Hanson.

Hopefully, regional governments and media now have a better understanding of the situation in Australia, and access to alternative sources of information. It remains to be seen if their future presentation of the debate is more temperate.

A complete set of the materials we presented at each of our destinations — including the 1996 Avebury Press hardback *Immigration and the Social Contract* and "The Grand Plan: Asianization of Australia" (reviewed on pp. 109-110) — has now been catalogued with the Federal Parliamentary Library in Canberra. TSC

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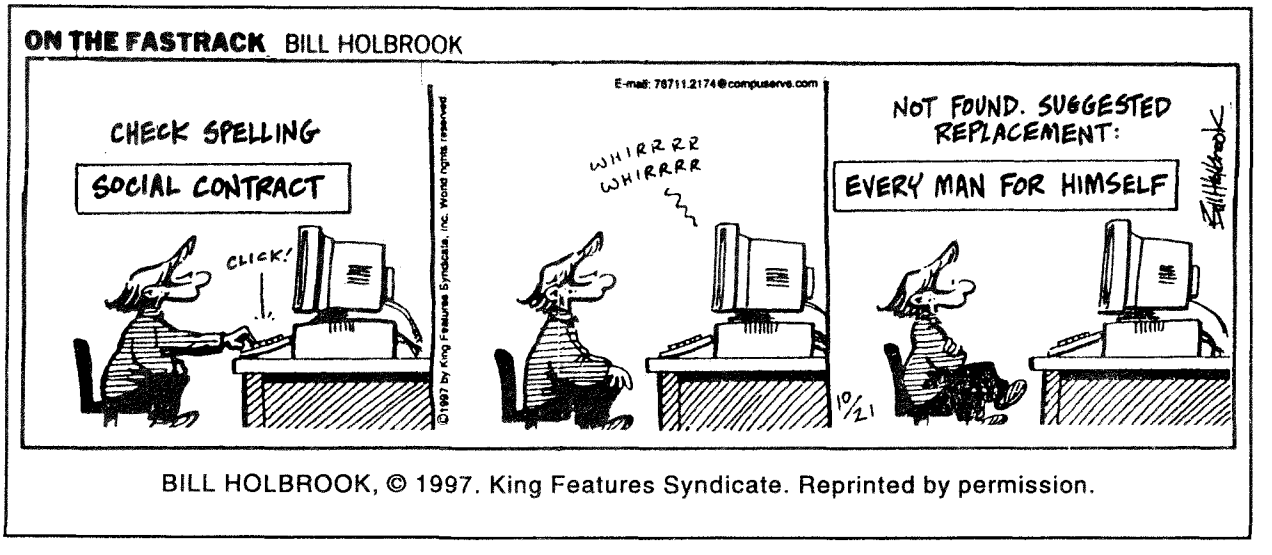

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The Chinese Exclusion Act

The wrong move at the right time?

by Max Thelen, Jr.

International relations between China and the U.S. and indirect and illegal campaign contributions from Asian sources are much in the public eye at this time. Part of the discussion centers around the extension to China of most favored nation status. This is not a new subject. One hundred and twenty-nine years ago most favored nation status was extended to China in the so-called Burlingame Treaty of 1868. Among other things, this treaty allowed citizens of both countries to immigrate or emigrate on a basis equivalent to citizens of other nations. Back in Gold Rush days there had been substantial Chinese migration to California; this continued to grow after 1868. This generated opposition, spear-headed by the labor movement, which led to amendments to the treaty in 1880 giving the U.S. the right to "regulate, limit or suspend" but not "entirely prohibit" the entrance of Chinese laborers. No other types of immigrants were excluded.[1]

Non-discriminatory restrictions on immigration 150 years ago would have better served America.

The amendment of the Burlingame Treaty in 1880 opened the door for Congress to pass the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 — the first significant restriction on immigration by the United States.

A brief historical review of events leading to the Burlingame Treaty, its amendments, and the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, is helpful in understanding the current politics of immigration and placing in focus the falsity of a major myth: that America has always "welcomed" immigrants and that immigration has always been an unmixed blessing.

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Relations Between the U.S. and China — 1854 to 1885

The status of China mid-nineteenth century cannot be adequately described in a few words. Briefly, the central government, namely the emperor in Peking, had little de facto power outside of the Beijing area. Individual war lords had varying amounts of power in their provinces. Overall there was anarchy. The Western powers, by the use of force and the threat of force, had obtained territorial concessions and extra-territorial rights (such as Hong Kong) which, as trade and commerce developed, had substantial value. (Consider the Opium Wars of the 1840s.) The United States had not applied force or threatened it against China, but it was most interested in obtaining trading rights and protection for its citizens in China (mostly missionaries, sailors and traders) from very real physical danger amid general anarchy. Although hating foreign intervention, the Imperial Chinese government placed great importance on custom revenues. The stated goal of the U.S. was to have an "open door" to China and, of course, freedom of the seas. The Emperor and his court considered all Westerners to be barbarians. In the U.S. the Chinese and other Asians were viewed as infidels, non-Christians beyond the pale. Although much is made of American bias against Asians, the fact was that bias by the Japanese and Chinese against Westerners was equal or greater.[2]

Commencing with the Gold Rush of 1848, a significant number of Chinese, almost all from the area surrounding old Canton in southern China, had emigrated to the United States. The numbers of Chinese residents increased three-fold from 1860 when the census showed 35,565, to 104,468 in 1880.[3] The greatest single increase was attributable to the demands for cheap labor by the Central Pacific Railroad, construction of which was

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authorized by Congress in 1862. It was completed in 1869. Business, and particularly larger employers, wanted the cheap labor, as they have ever since.[4] This drove down the wages and working conditions for American laborers and generated strong opposition in California and the West to Chinese immigration. This apparently was given little thought on the Atlantic seaboard since the State Department was more concerned with improving relations with China and securing commercial advantages through a most favored nation treaty.

Anson Burlingame and the Treaty of 1868

The Burlingame Treaty took the form of an amendment to a treaty with China of June 1858 which had established diplomatic relations along with some fundamental rights and responsibilities. The 1868 treaty gave both countries reciprocal most favored nation status. This worked very well for the U.S. since the Western powers had obtained and enjoyed tremendous concessions over the years and obtained even more favorable ones as time passed. The parties mutually agreed that their citizens should have the privileges, immunities and exemptions enjoyed by citizens of the most favored nations. The countries recognized the inherent right of individuals to change their home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of the free emigration and immigration of their citizens and subjects, respectively, from one country to the other, for purposes of curiosity, of trade, or as permanent residents.

Burlingame's name became attached to the treaty in common usage because he aided the Imperial Court in deciding to send a mission to the Western Powers to enhance its prestige and obtain enlarged treaty rights. And he did this in the interests of the U.S. while being its diplomatic representative. When it was clear that China would have such a mission, Burlingame resigned as U.S. Minister to China and *one day later* announced that he would serve as China's Minister Extraordinary with Plenipotentiary Powers, and as head of the Chinese mission. What would today's U.S. Senate investigation of campaign financing, and buying access to administrative and congressional power, do with a case like Burlingame's?[5]

Anson Burlingame was born on November 14, 1820 in Berlin, New York. In 1823 he moved with his family to Ohio, and ten years later to Michigan. He graduated from the University of Michigan in 1841 and from Harvard Law School in 1846. After settling in Massachusetts, he entered politics, serving in the local legislature and then as a representative in Congress (1855-1861). It has been said that he founded the Republican Party in Massachusetts.[6] Defeated for reelection to Congress in November 1860, he accepted an appointment from President Lincoln to represent the United States at the Imperial Court of China. He arrived there in October 1861 during the great Taipei rebellion, in which, according to the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 20 million people lost their lives (and which sheds some light on the Chinese penchant for order). An idealist, Burlingame became the leader of the diplomatic corps in Peking advocating a policy of cooperation among the Western powers and China.

"Burlingame became the leader of the diplomatic corps in Peking advocating a policy of cooperation among the Western powers and China."

He was a man of very large personal talents, but during and after the treaty of 1868 he had severe critics who indulged in name-calling of the worst kind, attacking every aspect of his personal and professional life.[7] However, on balance (and despite the premature acceptance of the Chinese commission), it is clear that he was a man of great integrity and ability, including personal and political skills. Gaining the confidence of the Emperor and his court in the brief period that he was in China was an amazing feat. His ability to obtain State Department, Presidential and Senate approval for the treaty was equally admirable.[8]

Following his appointment as head of the Chinese delegation, Burlingame led his thirty person mission to Washington via San Francisco. He had stopped in San Francisco on his way to China in 1861; now, in 1866, he cemented relations and purchased a half interest in 1,000 acres on the San

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Francisco peninsula. William Ralston, a major financier, had purchased the other half. As a result of Ralston's efforts a city was founded at the center of the property named for Burlingame.[9] In Washington he closeted himself with Secretary of State Seward and negotiated a treaty between China and the United States. These negotiations were secret and have never been revealed through oral or documentary evidence. Was Steward worried about the public's support if Congress or the media picked up the subject? Burlingame and the mission moved on to Europe where he was generally welcomed, but without any new treaties resulting. The mission ended in St. Petersburg where Burlingame contracted an illness and died, February 13, 1870. He was buried there with great honors and memorialized in Boston and New York.

"The discrimination could have been avoided in 1882 by applying the concept of restriction to all countries."

It was said that the 1868 treaty was well-received in the U.S., and there is some truth in this if California and the West are excluded. Geographically the West was a long, long way from the Atlantic seaboard and in many respects was far from the seats of power. It was also indisputable that substantial numbers of citizens supported the treaty — basically abolitionists who had successfully fought slavery, plus some religious organizations, and of course the merchant traders, transportation businesses, and big manufacturers using large numbers of cheap immigrant labor, etc.

The Residual Significance of Chinese Exclusion For Today

Why should we recall the Burlingame Treaty and relations with China of more than one hundred years ago? Simply stated: it is because the 1868 treaty was repealed only twelve years later (in 1880) and because of the tremendous opposition to Chinese immigration and the Chinese in California. This quick repeal paralleled the fate of the 1864 Act to Encourage Immigration which was repealed in 1868 after only four years.[10] This was followed in 1882 by passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act, the first substantial restriction on U.S. immigration. Then came a "gentleman's agreement" to prevent mass immigration from Japan, and then laws and regulations to deny naturalization to Asians, and generally to exclude virtually all Asians from immigration. In this and other restrictive immigration actions Congress was reflecting the public's desires.[11] From these events much can be learned that is of value today in making decisions about immigration reform.

The chain of events we have described beginning with Gold Rush days has been violently attacked today as "discrimination" against Asians or people of Asian coloring. Of course these acts were discriminatory in the sense that at the time there were substantially no restrictions on mass immigration from Western Europe. By 1882 both political parties were on the record as favoring Chinese exclusion. There was no organized opposition. [See editor's note at end of article.]

The discrimination could have been avoided in 1882 by applying the concept of restriction to all countries.[12] If we assume that in 1882 the principle of restriction had been applied to all the countries of the world — barring mass migration or any migration of laborers, and capping other admissions at 1,000 per country — this would have created an overall cap of less than 50,000 per year. This number would have been sufficient to give the U.S. all the scientific, economic, cultural or political talent which it might have needed. At the present time, with the proliferation of nations after World War II, the cap overall would be 190,000 at the rate of 1,000 per country. This is consistent with immigration practice during the forty years from 1925 to 1965 which averaged 171,198 yearly. Establishing caps on immigration takes political courage, but such immigration reform in 1882 would have solved today's U.S. population problem. The principle of the Chinese Exclusion Act should have been applied world wide.

At the present time, FAIR (the Federation for American Immigration Reform), one of the leading organizations advocating major immigration reform, has policies (as do other groups) which are supportive of strictly limited legal immigration. They seek only *policy changes* in the immigration laws which admit excessive numbers of immigrants on an

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undifferentiated basis, unrelated to the national interest. Unfortunately, that was not the position of Americans in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

In California, the Chinese, even though mass immigration had ended after 1880, were violently discriminated against and attacked for generations, both before and after the 1868 treaty. In other words, repeal of the Burlingame Treaty did not solve the problems of non-assimilation and discrimination which lasted for decades. Changes in a law did not alone change the "hard-wired" worldwide historical preference for members of one's own tribe. The discriminatory treatment of Asians in the U.S. and particularly the West (70 percent of the Chinese were in California) was continuous.[13]

"...with the exception of the Colonial period, immigrants were generally not well received throughout the country for reasons of economic competition and social and cultural change."

The problem existed from Gold Rush days onward, and the Burlingame Treaty only made the situation worse. The fact was that Chinese immigration did not work except for the railroad builders and similar large employers of cheap labor. It was not a pretty picture in California. However, this was just an intense particularization of the fact that (with the exception of our Colonial period) immigrants were generally not well received throughout the country, for reasons of economic competition and social and cultural change.This was true even though most immigrants were ultimately naturalized and unquestionably became patriotic citizens. California passed a number of laws that were blatantly aimed at the Chinese. Sooner or later most of these were found to be unconstitutional by federal courts. But neither the laws while enforced, nor the successful litigation which overturned them, made the underlying human problem disappear.

Although dismaying to idealists, it seemed that Californians of Irish extraction led the pack in attacks on the Chinese, even though the Irish for decades had been the prime target of discrimination in New England.[14]

The situation was that big business, for the sake of greater profits, wanted cheap foreign labor — slaves, in effect, contract workers, immigrants (legal, and later illegal) who were docile employees, who would not push for higher wages or better working conditions nor foster unionization. After Emancipation the preference was for immigrants over blacks and native Americans. Outside the South, the middle class preferred to hire immigrants whom they treated as a servant class, who nonetheless were not admissible to equivalent social status with their employers. People might treat their own domestics with compassion, in a form of paternalism, but others' domestics were railed against.[15]

Thus, it is completely inaccurate to say — as is often done today — that America always "welcomed" immigrants. Americans have been wary of foreigners — which is the way foreigners in large numbers have been received all over the world. It is true that big business wanted cheap foreign labor (and not just in the U.S.) but after the quitting whistle blew, foreigners were passed over in job advancement, in schools, in homes, in civil society, in politics and other social institutions.

By current standards this was not a way to live; however, the preference for members of one's own tribe over others has been the way of the world forever. As the old saw has it, "birds of a feather flock together."

Conclusion

What can we learn from the mistakes of the Burlingame Treaty? Here are some observations based on the fiasco itself and the history of immigration in the period 1850-1900.

1. It appears to be natural to prefer members of one's own tribe to foreigners. This is why there are more than 190 nations in the world today, and numerous ethnic wars in progress.

2. In a racially diverse nation(and the U.S. is among the most diverse) a very high level of non-discrimination and tolerance of diversity is essential for survival and the effective functioning of society and government.

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3. Some diversity is good. It does not follow that more diversity is always better. It is unreasonable to increase problems of social division, either locally or generally, through mass immigration. One may be critical of a lack of tolerance for foreigners or for racial or ethnic minorities, and work to eliminate it, while insisting that the wise course would be to avoid compounding the problem by immigration. It is unwise to create a substantial, relatively permanent group of foreigners who can be assimilated only with difficulty. If there is something of value in the culture, social structure or politics of a foreign country, it can be learned — as Japan learns — by study, exchange of knowledgeable people, travel, temporary admissions, and so on.

4. Immigration to the U.S. should not be viewed by presidents and Congress as a no-cost solution to various national or international problems.

5. The Congress and the president should not ignore popular opinion on immigration, and then be forced to reverse actions a short time later. (We remember, however, that repeal of the Burlingame Treaty did not eliminate the damage.) The damage caused by mistakes in immigration policies or choices which increase admissions cannot be readily reversed. Deportation of large numbers of residents will not get much popular or congressional support.

6. The Eastern half of the continental railroad was built without cheap Chinese labor and the Western half could have been also.

7. The numbers of immigrants count. If the Exclusion Act of 1882 had been passed in 1868 the Chinese problem in California would have been avoided or greatly reduced. There is no evidence that the exclusion of mass immigration from Asia — or elsewhere — would have had any adverse effect on the U.S. It should be remembered that the exclusion applied only to laborers. Admission of the highly skilled, the professional, the exceptional was possible. Admission for purposes other than permanent citizenship continued so that whatever might be gained by a familiarity with a foreign culture or from exceptional foreigners was available. For example, in the two years 1911-12, Japanese admissions averaged 5,317 and from China 1,612.[16]

8. The Western frontier officially came to an end in 1890, as famously declared by Frederick Jackson Turner. If the 1924 law with its cap on immigration at 150,000 had been adopted in 1880, there would not be a U.S. population problem today. It is this author's contention that by 1880 any possible need to continue mass immigration from any source had ceased, and that immigration should have been reformed with an overall cap established and quotas assigned to each country. The types of immigrants who should be admitted because of their special skills and competence should have been matched to the needs for such in our country at any given time. Singling out the Chinese was an insufficient and discriminatory response.

9. The history of the Burlingame Treaty and the repeal in 1868 of the Act to Encourage Immigration, along with the events of the last half of the 19th century through the 20th century, establish beyond a doubt the inaccuracy of the statement that America always "welcomed" immigrants and immigration. This is part of the immigration myth.

10. The total number of immigrants and the priorities of different categories should never be allowed to produce large enough numbers to adversely affect the labor market generally or in a particular part of the country, or in any job category (except in a clear emergency affecting the national interest). Immigration to benefit special, and not general, interests should not be countenanced.

11. Stimulating Chinese immigration through the Burlingame Treaty and permitting the immigration of large numbers of Chinese who would inevitably be subjected to social, economic and physical discrimination in California and the West was not a humanitarian action.[17]

TSC

[Editor's note: *Readers interested in this topic of Chinese immigration and exclusion will find these earlier offerings in* THE SOCIAL CONTRACT *to be of value:*

Vol. VI, No. 3 (Spring 1996) — "1876 California Report on Chinese Immigration" by Wayne Lutton; "Denis Kearney and the Chinese Exclusion Acts" by Kevin Jenks; "Labor-led Immigration Restriction" by Wayne Lutton.

Vol. VI, No. 4 (Summer 1996) — "Before the Yellow Peril: American Novels of Chinese Immigration, Invasion" by Kevin Jenks.

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Vol. VII, No. 2 (Winter 1996-97) — "The Overseas Chinese: Ever the Golden Venture" book review by Denis McCormack.

Vol. VII, No. 3 (Spring 1997) — "The Endless Demand for Cheap Labor" is an excerpt from a 1928 book by Edward R. Lewis.]

NOTES

[1] (The Burlingame Treaty of 1868.) Additional Articles to the Treaty Between the United States of America and the Ta-Tsing Empire of the 18th of June, 1858, 16 Stat. 39, effective March 23, 1869; Amendment signed November 17, 1880 modifying the 1858 and 1868 Treaties, 22 Stat. 826, effective July 19, 1881.

[2] Jenks, Jeremiah W. and Lauck, W. Jett, *The Immigration Problem*, Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1917, pp.217-218.

[3] U.S. Census 1860 and 1880, U.S. Government Printing Office.

[4] Saxton, Alexander, *The Indispensable Enemy*, University of California Press, 1995 ed., p.4.

[5] Gumpach, Johannes, *The Burlingame Mission*, N. Teubner and Co., London, 1872.

[6] Williams, Frederick W., *Anson Burlingame and the First Chinese Mission to Foreign Powers*, Charles Scribners and Sons, 1912, p.3 et seq., 27 and 355; Drury, Clifford M., *Anson Burlingame: China's First U.S. Ambassador, The Pacific History*, University of the Pacific, 1971, Vol. 15, p.35.

[7] Gumpach, supra, pp.28-33 and Chapter X, p.188.

[8] Williams, Frederick W., *Life and Letters of Samuel Wells Williams*, Putnam & Sons (1889); Anson Burlingame, Note 6, supra, Preface, p. vi et seq., pp.268-269; A Memorial to Anson Burlingame, Boston City Council (1870), Library of Congress DS 763.B7 B7; Tribute of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York to Memory of Anson Burlingame, March 3, 1970. New York Chamber of Commerce, Library of Congress DS 763, B7 N6.

[9] Currall, Geoffrey A., *A History of Burlingame*, The San Mateo Times, 1934, Chapters 1 and 2.

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The Ruling Class Can Ruin Us All

by Charley Reese

Civilizations rise or fall on the basis of the beliefs of the ruling class. Nothing mysterious about that. Belief always precedes action. The success or failure of an action depends most often on whether the belief on which it is based is true or false.

People, for example, who try to beat a train do so in the belief that they can get across the tracks before the train arrives. If their belief is correct, they live; if it is incorrect, they die. And so it is with nation-states and empires.

The ruling class of America, that mix of political, corporate, academic and financial people who occupy positions of power (one academic estimates there are only 7,000 such positions in the public and private sector combined), holds a number of false beliefs. Unless these beliefs are corrected, the United States is finished.

So, if we value our future, we would do well to examine the beliefs that underlie American policy — domestic, foreign and economic — that are pointing us toward disaster, pain, suffering and general misery.

Charley Reese is a syndicated columnist. Reprinted by permission, King Features Syndicate, copyright 1997.

One of these false beliefs is that numbers don't matter, so therefore immigration can be virtually unlimited. False. The difference between a prosperous China and a poor China is about 700 million people. Continued population growth will degrade the environment, the economy, and the ability to enjoy life.

A second false belief is that diversity or multiculturalism is good. No, it's not. It is a breeder of perpetual conflict. There's no nation on earth with a diverse, multicultural population that is politically stable, democratic and prosperous.

The false belief that diversity and multiculturalism is good is based, somewhat paradoxically, on another false belief: that there exists a universal man, or as they would say today, a universal person. This is the belief that human beings are all basically the same and therefore, with a little social tinkering, can be persuaded to live peacefully and happily together.

This is not so, it has never been so and it never will be so. Humans are tribal, and tribes compete for territory and resources. The more world population increases, the more intense the competition will become.

America is already experiencing an undeclared race war. It is an interesting commentary on people's ability to delude themselves that we now think it is normal to have armed police posted in public schools. Just 30 years ago the idea would have struck Americans as absurd.

Still another false belief is that unlimited economic growth is possible. It isn't. Resources are finite. The carrying capacity of any given piece of ground is limited. If that were not so, archeologists wouldn't have anything to do.

The world is a graveyard of once-powerful and prosperous nations and empires. Unequal distribution of wealth, of resources, of opportunity, is, always has been and always will be a fact of life.

European-derived people seem to have lost the will to survive. Biologist Garrett Hardin has said, "The politicizing of universalism by Western elites and their legal and social institutions ... has deluded many European-derived people into believing that it is immoral to survive as a distinct group. As a result they can find no reason to resist the Third World flood inundating the West."

I believe we are now at a point where the ruling class will have to be replaced or we will proceed into the gloomy and dismal future where their false beliefs and bad actions are taking us.

I don't know if Americans will commit national suicide or decide to resuscitate themselves. It will depend on how many Americans can stand to look reality in its stern and unfriendly face. TSC

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Losses of House Seats in Puerto Rico Statehood

Which states have the most to lose?

by Leon F. Bouvier and Dudley L. Poston, Jr.

On December 31, 2000, the Secretary of Commerce will deliver to the President the April 1, 2000 population counts for each of the fifty states. The President will then send to the Clerk of the House within ten days of the beginning of the next session of Congress the census counts for each of the fifty states as well as the number of representatives for each state. The apportionment procedure for determining the number of representatives assigned to each state is selected by Congress. Within fifteen days of the President's transmission, the Clerk of the House must inform the governors of the fifty states about the number of representatives they will have in the next Congress. Providing to the President an empirical basis for apportioning the House of Representatives is the principal reason and justification for conducting a decennial census. The requirement was written into the Constitution in 1787.

While widely-trumpeted statements have been made that Puerto Rico would finally have six voting members in the House of Representatives ... little has been said about who the losers would be.

The major issue in determining distribution in the House of Representatives is equity. The apportionment method to be used in 2000 is the Method of Equal Proportions. Irrespective of the country's size, the number of House seats is 435. Partial representatives cannot be assigned to states, nor can representatives be given fractional votes. Apportionment methods differ principally in the way they define equity. Our Constitution requires that every state be assigned at least one seat in the House. Hence, the first fifty seats are taken. The various apportionment methods specify how to divide the remaining 385 seats (see Poston, 1997, for more discussion).

Given the extensive discussions in recent decades in the Congress and elsewhere with respect to Puerto Rico becoming the 51st state of the United States, we ask in this paper (1) how many seats would Puerto Rico receive, and (2) which states would lose seats? Since it is unlikely that the House will increase its number of seats beyond 435, seat assignment is a zero-sum game. If one or more new states are added to the United States, there will not be an increase in the number of House seats. One exception to this "rule" occurred with the admission of Alaska and Hawaii in the late 1950s. For one session of Congress there were 438 seats (one for Alaska and two for Hawaii). However, with the results from the next census in 1960 the House reverted back to its basic number of 435 seats. We doubt that this will occur again, that is, that Congress will allow a temporary increase of more seats for Puerto Rico prior to the 2000 (or later) census, and then revert back to 435 seats after the new census data are issued.

We inquire here about the implications for other states of accepting Puerto Rico as the 51st state. We rely on Census Bureau population projection data for the states and Puerto Rico for the year 2000. We first add Puerto Rico to the fifty states; each of the now 51 states automatically receives a seat; the

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remaining 384 seats are then allocated using the Equal Proportions method. Puerto Rico will receive an additional five seats, for a total of six. While widely-trumpeted statements have been made that Puerto Rico would finally have six voting members of the House of Representatives (in addition to two voting senators), little has been said about who the losers would be. According to our application of the Equal Proportions apportionment method to population projection data from the Census Bureau, the six states that would lose representatives if Puerto Rico were added as the 51st state are California, Indiana, New York, Texas, Washington and Wisconsin.

Why has statehood for Puerto Rico become so important? An examination of its history, especially as it pertains to its relationship with the United States, may shed some light on this question. Article IX of the Treaty of Paris, which ended the Spanish-American War in 1898, recognized the authority of the U.S. Congress to provide for the political status of the inhabitants of Puerto Rico, as well as the Philippines and other lesser islands. According to the "Findings" developed for the current US House Bill, HR856,

> *Puerto Rico was ceded to the United States and came under this nation's sovereignty pursuant to the Treaty ending the Spanish-American War in 1898. Article IX of the Treaty recognized the authority of Congress to provide for the political status of the inhabitants of the territory. [Moreover], consistent with the establishment of United States nationality for inhabitants of Puerto Rico under the Treaty, Congress has exercised its powers under the Territorial Clause of the Constitution to provide by several statutes beginning in 1919, for the United States citizenship status of persons born in Puerto Rico....In 1950, Congress prescribed a procedure for instituting internal self-government for Puerto Rico pursuant to statutory authorization for a local constitution. A local constitution was approved by the people of Puerto Rico, and thereupon given effect in 1952. The approved constitution established the structure for constitutional government in respect of internal affairs without altering Puerto Rico's fundamental political, social, and economic relationship with the United States and without restricting the authority of Congress under the Territorial Clause to determine the application of Federal law to Puerto Rico, resulting in the present "Commonwealth" structure for local self-government. The Commonwealth remains an unincorporated territory and does not have the status of "free association" with the United States as that status is defined under United States law or international practice.*

We note that with regard to this last point there appear to be some translation difficulties between English and Spanish on the meaning of "free association." Some of this lies at the proposed minor changes in the meaning of "commonwealth" as it is currently being discussed.

What is the status of recent and current activities on this topic in Puerto Rico? First, in 1989, President George Bush urged Congress to take the necessary steps to authorize a federally recognized process allowing the people of Puerto Rico to freely express their wishes regarding their future political status in a congressionally recognized referendum, a step in the process of self-determination.

On November 14, 1994, Puerto Rico conducted a plebiscite initiated under local law on its political status. However, none of the three political status propositions received a majority of the votes cast. The results were 49 percent for commonwealth status, 46 percent for statehood, and about 5 percent for independence.

On January 23, 1997, the Puerto Rico legislature enacted Concurrent Resolution 2 which requested the U.S. Congress "...to respond to the democratic aspirations of the American citizens of Puerto Rico" by approving legislation authorizing "...a plebiscite sponsored by the Federal government to be held no later than 1998." The Resolution further stated that:

> *"[f]ull self-government for Puerto Rico is attainable only through establishment of a political status which is based on either separate Puerto Rican sovereignty and nationality or full and equal United States nationality and citizenship through membership in the Union and under which Puerto Rico is no longer an unincorporated territory subject to the plenary authority of Congress arising from the Territorial Clause."*

In recognition of the significant level of local self-government which has been attained by Puerto Rico, and the responsibility of the Federal government to enable the people of the territory to

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freely express their wishes regarding their political status and to achieve full self-government, this Act was adopted with a commitment to encourage the development and implementation of procedures through which the permanent political status of the people of Puerto Rico can be determined.

What is the process that must be followed by Puerto Rico in its quest for self-government? A referendum on Puerto Rico's political status needs to be held not later than December 31, 1998. The approval of a status option must be by a majority of the valid votes cast. The referendum shall consist of the approval of one of the three options presented on the ballot, namely, commonwealth, statehood or independence.

With respect to the transition, within 180 days of the receipt of the results of the referendum from Puerto Rico certifying approval of a choice of full self-government, the President shall develop and submit to Congress legislation for a transition plan of not more than 10 years which leads to full self-government for Puerto Rico that is consistent with the terms of this Act and results of the referendum.

In the event of a vote in favor of statehood, the President shall include in the transition plan proposals and incentives to increase the opportunities of the people of Puerto Rico to learn, read, write and understand English fully. The transition plan should promote the usage of English by the citizens of Puerto Rico. Not later than 180 days after the enactment of an Act pursuant to the transition to full self-government for Puerto Rico as approved in the initial decision referendum, another referendum shall be held under the applicable provisions of Puerto Rico's electoral laws on the question of the approval of the terms of implementation for full self-government. Approval must be by a majority of the valid votes cast.

To ensure that the Congress is able on a continuing basis to exercise its Territorial Clause powers with due regard to the wishes of the people of Puerto Rico, in the event that a referendum does not result in a majority vote for separate sovereignty or statehood, there is authorized to be further referenda in accordance with this Act, but not less than once every ten years.

Our discussion above has been taken almost verbatim from Congressional Act HR856. It goes without saying that either statehood or sovereignty is expected to come out victorious. At any rate, either during the last decade of this century or the first decade of the next, Puerto Rico's political status will be changed. Given the small proportion favoring independence in earlier referenda, it is likely that statehood will be the winner.

At the beginning of this paper we asked about the other states. We pointed out that if Puerto Rico is added as the 51st state in the year 2000, six states will lose one House member: California, Indiana, New York, Texas, Washington and Wisconsin. When we make adjustments to the 2000 population projection numbers based on larger numbers of illegal immigrants in the U.S. and on some other issues (for a general discussion of these matters see Poston et al, 1997), the end result is the same: six states will lose House seats if Puerto Rico is added as the 51st state. Moreover, irrespective of the different methods and adjustments used, California, Indiana, Texas and Washington will always lose one seat each. In two of our alternative projections, Minnesota and Missouri will each lose one seat, whereas in another projection, New York and Wisconsin will each lose a seat.

Once such information becomes widely known it will be interesting to see if the representatives from these states, especially those from California, Indiana, Texas and Washington — the losing states under our scenarios — alter their voting behavior on the issue of statehood for Puerto Rico. Seat assignment is a zero-sum situation. If Puerto Rico (or, for that matter, Washington, D.C.) becomes a state, some of the fifty states must necessarily lose seats. In any event, the years ahead may well be interesting ones, especially with respect to the kinds of political and demographic issues raised here.

TSC

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Persecution Complex

Still another migration category to exploit

by William Buchanan

The Cold War has been over for six years but it's still silly season on the immigration front. Refugees are among mankind's most persistent and troubling problems. And religious persecution is nothing to be complacent about. What makes no sense is America's refugee ***policy*** and the latest proposed augmentation to it — **H.R. 2431, the Freedom From Religious Persecution Act of 1997** (formerly H.R. 1685). Sponsored by Rep. Frank Wolf (R-VA), this refugee bill has 98 cosponsors (among whom, I regret to say, are several stalwart immigration reformers) and a Senate companion bill — S. 772.

Some Background

How did we get to the point where legislation like H.R. 1685/2431 could be proposed and quickly garner so much support?

From None to Ad Hoc. When America first placed numerical limits on immigration (1921/24), it made no provision for refugees (or asylees). This is not surprising. The ancestors of today's refugees were locked down in the Soviet empire, subjects of European colonial powers, or excluded — China. Nor was there any international standard for describing a refugee.

Following WWII, a series of ad hoc refugee bills was passed, admitting, for example, displaced persons, and certain escapees from Iron Curtain countries. We embraced these for solid humanitarian reasons, domestic political and economic interests, and to fulfill international goals — to show that we were an open society, the good guys in the Cold War.

The World and Cuba. The 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act set us off in a new direction by establishing an annual quota of 10,200 visas for Eastern Hemisphere refugees from communist countries and the Middle East. This "seventh preference" was immediately dwarfed by the Cuban Refugee Act of 1966 (CRA) which granted entry to 40,000 Cubans per year over a period of two decades.

The CRA was a harbinger of things to come. We deluded ourselves into thinking that if people came here from Cuba, it proved our system was good and communism was bad. To Castro, however, it was a convenient way to get rid of capitalists and other political opponents. By this device ***of our making***, he was able to consolidate his regime.

In what should have been a tip-off, Castro denied the exit of young people, especially men of military age. When it suited him, he turned the spigot off altogether. And when he needed this "safety valve" to bolster, once again, his failed regime, we agreed to take in another 20,000 "refugees" per year. Now we find that the hard currency remittances Cuban-Americans send home effectively neutralize our trade embargoes. Can't anyone around here say "No"? No.

In 1976, seventh preference was extended to the Western Hemisphere, increasing refugee visas to 17,400 per year. In the same year, a court ruling converted the CRA into a non-quota refugee program — a feature that would come to characterize all such efforts.

The 1980 Refugee Act. Complaints were heard that the ad hoc programs were too time-consuming to construct every time there was "an emergency" and that 17,400 slots was insufficient to deal with them. So our legislators set to work. Since we had long been receiving, on average, around 42,000 refugees per year, it was argued, why not just set up a single, separate refugee program with 50,000 annual slots — the "normal flow".

Now, most Americans would find 50,000 refugees per year an acceptable number. But there was still this unpredictable quality about refugee admissions — in any given year, additional refugees might need to be admitted. So why not admit still more refugees where justified by, as the law specifies:

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"humanitarian concerns" or "the national interest." The President would set the actual number in consultation with eight ranking members of Congress.

Comprehensive in scope, the 1980 Refugee Act established a definition for refugee (and asylee) that conformed to the 1967 United Nations Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. As a result, Section 101(a)(42)(A) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA), defines a refugee as a person who is unable or unwilling to return to his or her country of habitual residence:

> *because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, political opinion, or membership in a particular social group...*

Such a definition is suited to the UN mission — it accurately describes those who need its help. The UN is not a recipient nation, it must husband limited funds, and has no reason to inflate the number who qualify. Such a definition on the books of a recipient nation, on the other hand, may lead to the temptation to select people who don't really qualify.

Erosion of Standards. The U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), with meager funding, manages to feed, clothe, and shelter millions of refugees. It seeks to either repatriate them (return them to their homeland) or settle them in the country of refuge. Resettlement in a third country is seen as less desirable because it may promote "ethnic cleansing" and also act as a magnet for unqualified persons.

It should be obvious that even at present levels the refugees we admit are just a tiny percentage of the total (13 million in 1996). Nevertheless, we resettle each year twice as many refugees as the UNHCR slates for the whole world! This is because 80 percent of our refugees enter under terms of section 101(a)(42)(B) of the INA. Described there are refugee types the U.N. may care for but does not consider suitable for resettlement such as internally displaced persons (IDPs) — estimated to number as many as 30 million world-wide. It includes others the U.N. has no interest in.

Further Erosion of Standards. Did I say that this omnibus refugee act of 1980 would put an end to ad hoc legislation? No, it was Congress that said that. And so, like that gal (or guy) who "can't say no," ad hoc legislation continues to roll off the Congressional presses — the Amerasian Homecoming Act of 1987 and the Chinese Student Protection Act of 1992, for example.

Another ad hoc bill provides air fare and direct admission for refugees from the states of the former USSR and the countries of the former Indo-China. According to a study by Scripps-Howard reporter Michael Hedges, however, INS records show that by 1993, less than one percent of these refugees actually had a "well-founded fear of persecution," and that the program is the object of "astronomical fraud." Other critics note that 37,000 of these refugees have never even bothered to come here.

Another original understanding held that persecution validated claims for refugee status only when that persecution was committed by a government. In recent years, however, that definition has been clouded by administrative decisions that grant refugee status based on individual or cultural circumstances. Like judges who believe the law is whatever they say it is, adjudicators have granted permanent residence to a woman who, back home, might have been the target of female genital mutilation, a man with AIDS, who might have suffered local abuse in his home country, and a man who proved that he was law-abiding and baseball-loving all the time he lived illegally and worked illegally in the United States. With nobody looking (and nobody is), who knows to what lengths these intrepid magistrates may go?

"...ad hoc legislation continues to roll off the Congressional presses."

The result has been a mounting volume of refugees and asylees. In the 15 years 1981-95, we averaged 109,000 refugee admissions per year. Another 132,000 were admitted in FY96 and pending asylum applications stood at 456,000.

New Legislation. Complaints that the asylum process was being abused by unqualified aliens, seeking an excuse to enter or to avoid deportation, led to reforms included in the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA). There is no certainty that this law will have

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a lasting effect, however. The ACLU is on the attack — a single deportation with troubling results may turn public opinion, and the Commission on Immigration Reform, no longer anchored by the redoubtable Barbara Jordan, has demanded the return of the old "safeguards." Moreover, the IIRIRA, itself, added a juicy loophole.

"I mean to say that we should make our opposition to religious persecution abundantly clear, but pursue that opposition in some other way."

Rewriting the Legal Definition. Though markedly compromised in practice, the legal definition of a refugee had remained the general one indicated in section 101(a)(42) of the INA (see above). When Congress adopted the IIRIRA, however, it decided to get *specific*, amending that section to reflect its latest foreign policy concern — China's population policies. Its so-called "Chinese Refugee Proviso" reads:

> *For purposes of determinations under this Act, a person who has been forced to abort a pregnancy or to undergo involuntary sterilization, or who has been persecuted for failure or refusal to undergo such a procedure or for other resistance to a coercive population control program, shall be deemed to have been persecuted on account of political opinion, and a person who has a well founded fear that he or she will be forced to undergo such a procedure or subject to persecution for such failure, refusal, or resistance shall be deemed to have a well founded fear of persecution on account of political opinion.*

Disgust with China's population policies is one thing, doing something about it is another. The above language must be a howler for the Chinese and qualifies just about everyone in China for refugee status in America. [For a preview of what we may be courting read *Human Smuggling: Chinese Migrant Trafficking and the Challenge to America's Immigration Tradition* published by the Center for Strategic and International Studies.]

Commission Omission. We were hoping for sane guidance on refugee policy from the U.S. Commission On Immigration Reform (CIR). In its June 1995 report it called for a target of 50,000 refugees per year and a more comprehensive congressional consultation in the event more were contemplated.

Its June 1997 special report, on the other hand, looks like the glossy product of a well-funded private refugee agency — complete with pictures. The target of 50,000 was gone — even the *Washington Post* wondered about that. Instead, the CIR (as noted above) criticized the restrictions the IIRIRA placed on asylees, demanded that the 10,000 per year cap on asylee adjustments be lifted, and called for American "leadership by example." Leadership? We are already taking in more than half of the resettled refugees! Leadership? The Cold War is *over*. Nobody harkens to our proclivities.

Next Step — H.R. 2431?

H.R. 2431, the Freedom From Religious Persecution Act of 1997 (FRPA) would establish a second *specific* refugee category, one for persons persecuted because of their religious beliefs, a plan more broad and nebulous than any we have seen before. But what a name! How could anyone be against Freedom From Religious Persecution?

No true American believes that any government or group or individual has a right to persecute any other group or individual because of their practice of religion or religious beliefs. Religious liberty was probably America's first great departure from the Old World's stultifying grip. So in criticizing H.R. 2431 I mean to say that we should make our opposition to religious persecution abundantly clear, but pursue that opposition in some other way.

The Bureau. This bill would create an Office of Religious Persecution Monitoring (ORPM) in the executive office of the President. This office would coordinate with the Secretaries of State, Commerce, and Treasury and the Attorney General to see that this law is "fully implemented." It would report to four congressional committees in each house.

The Scope. The bill defines religious persecution as "abduction, enslavement, killing, imprisonment, forced mass settlement, rape, or crucifixion, or other forms of torture" directed at religious groups. It names Baha'is, Christians, moderate Muslims, and Tibetan Buddhists as objects of religious persecution

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and lists China, Cuba, Laos, North Korea, Sudan, and Viet Nam as countries known to practice such persecution. Nevertheless, section 4 declares the scope of the legislation to be "any [persecuted religious] community within any country or region...."

The bill would require the ORPM to develop a list of "category 1 countries" — those in which the government assists in religious persecution, and a list of "category 2 countries" — those in which the government does not participate in persecution but "fails to take serious and sustained efforts to eliminate" it. The ORPM would publish these lists in its annual report.

The U.S. would be required to vote against IMF and multilateral aid for listed countries and restrict certain kinds of trade with them unless the President provided a waiver and supplied the Congress with an explanation. Individual and corporate violators would be punished in accordance with the "Trading with the Enemy Act." If this legislation went no further, it would probably have some limited utility. It goes much further.

The Unraveling. One of the goals of the IIRIRA was to tighten up the refugee/asylee process. Section 235 of the INA was completely rewritten to provide for: immediate hearings in the event of a claim for asylum, denial of work authorizations, reduced avenues for appeal, and punishment for frivolous suits. Among the new items was section 235(b)(1)(B)(v) which defines "Credible Fear of Persecution" as follows:

> *the term "credible fear of persecution" means that there is a significant possibility, taking into account the credibility of the statements made by the alien in support of the alien's claim and such other facts as are known to the officer, that the alien could establish eligibility for asylum under section 208.*

The FRPA would amend this section "by adding at the end the following:"

> *Any alien who can* ***credibly*** *claim membership in a persecuted community found to be subject to category 1 or category 2 religious persecution...shall be considered to have a* ***credible fear of persecution*** *within the meaning of the preceding sentence* (emphasis added).

Not content with that loophole, the proposal goes further. Section 604 of the IIRIRA further tightened asylum law by rewriting Section 208 of the INA, "Asylum Procedure," in such a way as to reduce the discretion of the Attorney General to grant asylum and specifying conditions under which asylum may ***not*** be granted.

Lest any asylum officer dare to deny a claim under the FRPA, however, section 208 of the INA would be amended "by adding at the end the following:" There then follows no less than 4 pages of special requirements. These include a written report containing the reasons for the denial, supported by references to the most recent annual report of the ORPM and human rights reports by the Secretary of State regarding the country in question.

"...this bill, if passed, might actually promote the persecution it is supposed to discourage."

Also required: lists of materials publicly available and copies of materials not publically available that were relied upon as a basis for denying the application. And if the application was denied on credibility grounds, the INS must provide copies of all statements made by the alien, other evidence found not to be credible, a statement certifying that the applicant was provided an opportunity to respond, and a summary of any responses.

Finally, a person found to be a victim of religious persecution must be considered to be "a refugee of special humanitarian concern" which entitles him or her to a priority for entry under the terms of 207(a)(3) of the INA equal with any other of "special concern." However, such refugees would be ***in addition to***, and never displace, other refugees slated for resettlement.

Some Concerns

Any Allies? Speaking of leadership, is there even one other country that will join with us? Long experience shows that unilateral sanctions don't work. Could there not be in the law a requirement that it would only go into effect when ten other Western democracies pledge an equal effort?

Will ORPM Fail When it Succeeds? If success means ending religious persecution, this measure is

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likely to fail. Such persecution is deeply embedded, in varying degrees, in many, many societies. And, short of war, it is far beyond the capacity of American law to eradicate it.

Some category 1 countries may view this legislation as an invitation to drive out the religious groups they don't like — this bill, if passed, might actually promote the persecution it is supposed to discourage. Category 2 countries may react with angry denials — this bill, if passed, could prove to be a major foreign policy disaster.

It is a bitter pill to swallow, but with our military protection no longer needed and our defense establishment in decline, our moral demands will be increasingly viewed as interference. "Where do you Americans — awash in drugs, crime, gambling and illegitimacy — get off moralizing with us?" they may protest.

As if to underline the nature of the conflict, Russia's State Duma has once again passed (unanimously), and President Yeltsin has signed, legislation to restrict the rights of minority religions

"Look up 'field day' in your dictionary and you will find it defined as 'U.S. immigration law.'"

— this despite an appeal by Vice President Gore and a Senate threat to cut off all aid. For, as the Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church so delicately put it, "North American standards of religious freedom cannot be applied to Russia." Category 1?

Astronomical Numbers. If, on the other hand, success is measured in refugees, this legislation is sure to be a triumph. The FRPA has no numerical limits. Suppose, for example, a "forced mass settlement" were directed toward us. All the Baha'is, all the Christians, all the moderate Muslims, all the Tibetan Buddhists, and all the others who are listed as persecuted would be eligible to come here and probably would. Am I missing something or are we talking about tens of millions of people? Is it hundreds of millions?

We Need These People Where They Are. Religious minorities exert a leavening influence upon the majority group, an antidote to paranoia. Moreover, many Christian and Buddhist minorities represent truly ancient and historic communities. It is lunacy to promote their deracination and decimation.

WHY? Several Constituencies Clamor for It

Bureaucracy. This legislation creates a new office (the ORPM) that prepares annual reports, coordinates with four executive departments, and reports to eight congressional committees. This office will inevitably oversee new programs to distribute new government money to old private organizations operating on behalf of a new constituency. Another office; more money; more power — this is a bureaucrat's dream.

The Lawyers. Look up "Field Day" in your dictionary and you will find it defined as: "U.S. Immigration Law." Like most legislation, this bill probably started out in someone's law office. The four pages of red tape imposed on officials that deny refugee status to a religious claimant are one indication.

More evidence of lawyerly logic is the broad scope of the bill — all persecuted religious communities in all countries and regions. That pretty much covers everyone, doesn't it? Consider that a category 2 country is defined as one in which the government does not sanction religious persecution but "fails to take serious and sustained efforts to eliminate" it. That probably excludes Australia, Canada, and the Benelux countries from coverage. I say "probably" because I see possible problems in the Outback, between Quebeckers and Crees, and among the Flemish and Walloons. We may have to list these countries after all!

The Churches. The people who are involved with refugee programs are decent and caring people and many are volunteers, but considering the modern church's obsession with rendering unto God that which is Caesar's, it is difficult to ignore the fact that this bill will bring in more government money and create more paid jobs.

Some polls show that church-goers are more likely than most Americans to favor reduced levels of immigration. How many of them know the extent to which the Washington offices of their denominations — what Roy Beck refers to as the "15 Public Policy

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Pulpits"[1] — support and actively lobby for increased immigration and refugee admissions?

WHY? The U.S. Culture May Require It

Captives of Memory. Americans are bombarded daily with tube's-eye versions of the unspeakable atrocities and privations visited upon refugees around the world. They remind us of similar tragedies in the Europe of our past and that many of us are descended from ancestors who escaped such horrors by coming here. We feel guilt at our good fortune and compelled to fulfill the poet's counsel regarding these "huddled masses."

All the Other Constituencies. The real power in this bill may be its scope. There are a lot of Americans who don't like a lot of things that are going on in the world. And it is hard to accept the fact that the U.S. is powerless to do anything about them. Even though what we want is "so right," we are compelled by political and economic interests to look the other way.

We don't like slavery in Sudan, human rights violations in Saudi Arabia, religious persecution in China, and war in Chechnya. But the President sends up his annual requests for waivers. And these waivers squeak past a regretful Congress. Because we need the good will, the oil, the minerals, the trade, the money.

And so we create surrogates, like this refugee policy, as a sop to appease the many disappointed constituencies. It doesn't have to make sense! That's not its purpose. Thus does sanctimony stand in for sanctions.

American Ideology — To Be What We Are Not. Professor Walter Berns, writing for *The Public Interest* (Spring 1997), resurrected an early comment by Abraham Lincoln to the effect that the source of American unity was our hatred of Great Britain. This insubstantial foundation, Lincoln warned, would dissipate with time, leaving the country with an inadequate unifying structure. His fears were confirmed many years later when his Inaugural Address' appeal to "mystic chords of memory" fell on deaf ears.

Professor Samuel Huntington, writing in the September/October issue of *Foreign Affairs*, extrapolates upon this theme. He contends that determining the national interest depends upon an awareness of who we are — our national identity. This, he estimates, is largely derived from two closely-related elements: the values and institutions of the original settlers — Northern European and Christian — and an ideology based on universal principles such as liberty, equality, constitutionalism, and private enterprise.

In his view, an ideology "is likely to be a much more fragile basis for unity than a national culture richly grounded in history." He concludes that American ideology causes us to find our national identity in reference to other countries — in what they are and we are ***not***.

"Thus does sanctimony stand in for sanctions."

Thus, Great Britain, the monarchy we were ***not*** — and later, Europe, the backward, unfree, and socially immobile society we were ***not*** — helped define us. We were neither the oppressive Hun nor the murderous Nazis. And for these past 45 years, being the antithesis of godless communism was how we measured ourselves.

With the end of the Cold War, we have lost our enemy and, it seems, have little to fall back on when multiculturists call. As one of John Updike's now-famous characters put it: without the Cold War, what's the point of being an American? Or as a young Latino remarked to columnist Georgie Ann Geyer, "America doesn't give you anything to believe in." Is this, as I fear, the "hollowness at the core" that some thinkers sense in America?

In the Cold War, the U.S. defended the entire non-communist world. Victory in this war was an immense achievement, not least because of the potential for nuclear devastation. Had America lacked the men, money, and will, the world might have sunk into another Dark Age. But in America one senses no pride in this great victory. Instead, the Viet Nam War still echoes through the halls of our memory, having spawned a generation of teachers, foundation operatives, and other culture-bearers who often see America and the Western canon as something utterly corrupt and deserving of destruction.

For any other nation, that war would be acknowledged as a serious mistake, but one such as

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would be inevitable in so vast an undertaking as the Cold War. But in Viet Nam, unforgivably, we proved to be ***like*** other nations — morally unsure and less than invincible.

Maybe this "refugee from religious persecution" proposal, like the ones it would augment, is just another manifestation of an unconscious desire to find unity in what we are ***not***? We are ***not*** totalitarian oppressors like Castro. We are ***not*** religious persecutors like the Sudanese! We are ***not*** proponents of forced abortion like the Chinese. And the refugees we bring in are physical evidence of that distinction.

Other popular ideas come to mind in this context: other countries are nationalist, we are multiculturist; they strive for harmony, we seek diversity; they are insular countries, we are the "universal" one. What they are, we are ***not***. What we ***are***, in a sense, is what we are ***not***.

Conclusions

What America tried to do in 1924, one might say, was to fill that "hollowness at the core" by greatly reducing immigration in the interest of developing a unifying common history. It is a goal we abandoned in 1965 and from which we would further distance ourselves if Congress adopted H.R. 2431. That legislation is not in the national interest.

It is evident that the vast majority of resettled refugees are no worse off than the millions they leave behind and that the programs are the object of considerable fraud and abuse. Even at today's levels, we resettle a tiny, almost meaningless, fraction of the world's refugees.

Refugees are admitted with no reference to job skills. They tend to compete with American workers at the bottom of the economic spectrum. They are exempt from welfare restrictions enacted in 1996. They are the object of numerous special appropriations to cover resettlement costs.

Recommendations

1. Congress should cap refugee and asylee admissions at 50,000 per year. With this limitation, administrators of our refugee programs would have to make choices — something that seems to be understood in all other human transactions.

2. Congress should resolve that ad hoc refugee legislation for commercial and ethno-political purposes is not in the national interest and that refugee policy is not an appropriate tool for advancing foreign policy initiatives nor an effective weapon for achieving human rights objectives.

3. Congress should consider taking a portion of the savings realized by cutting back on U.S. refugee resettlements and giving it to U.N. refugee programs. America is not a leading per capita contributor to that effort and according to the Commission on Immigration Reform, the initial cost of resettling a refugee in America is over $10,000. It is estimated that the UN could maintain over 100 refugees for that amount. TSC

NOTE

[1] Beck, Roy, *Prophets & Politics: A Handbook on the Washington Offices of the U.S. Mainline Churches*, Washington, DC, Institute on Religion and Democracy, 1994, 193 pages.

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DEATH TO AMERICA
U.S. IMMIGRATION
"I DON'T THINK THEY'RE TOO SMART...THEY SPELLED 'TOURIST'... 'T-E-R-R-O-R-I-S-T' ON THEIR VISA..."

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Liberté, Egalité, Solidarité?

Some thoughts on the French national motto

by Gerda Bikales

While very few Americans can tell you right off the bat what their nation's motto is,[1] no Frenchman will hesitate a moment when asked for his: *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité* — Freedom, Equality, Brotherhood. He'll also tell you that this triad harkens back to the Revolution of 1789, and that it embodies the deepest aspirations of the French Republic.

Of the three principles enunciated, the first two appear to have emerged almost spontaneously in the minds and on the lips of 18th century French philosophers and revolutionaries searching for a succinct statement of their ideals. Settling eventually on *Fraternité* to round out this summation proved to be less easy. It was felt all along that for the motto to carry its weight a third concept had to be added, and not only for philosophic reasons. A solemn declaration of guiding principles must also have the right cadence, verbal balance and flowing alliteration, since the quality of literary expression matters to the French about as much as philosophy.

It took another Revolution, that of 1848, for the formal adoption of the motto we know today. In the intervening years, *Fraternité* encountered some tough competition from other ideals strongly associated with revolutionary fervor, most notably from "Nation" and "Justice." *Liberté, Egalité, Nation? Liberté, Egalité Justice?* Noble sentiments both, but neither could deliver the requisite rhyme and punch of *Fraternité.*

Not only was *Fraternité* the best literary candidate for the end position, but it was arguably the best philosophic one as well. Without it, the duo "freedom and equality" leads to an impasse, for these two concepts are not in a relationship of complementarity but of contradiction. Freedom implies a right to exploit one's talents and energies to surpass others in the national community, while the quest for equality would tend to restrain such personal ambitions and promote standards of mediocrity to which everyone in the society can reasonably aspire.

> ***"The concept of citizens as brothers has been discarded by globalization, that mighty solvent of national borders."***

The addition of brotherhood in the motto moderates the inherent tension between the ideals of freedom and equality. It proclaims that the citizens of France are brothers and sisters, members of a defined family, with unquestioned right to inherit and benefit from their common patrimony. Within the family one is expected to make sacrifices for the sake of the other family members. To keep the peace in the household, one learns to temper the urge to make too many demands. Willingly or reluctantly, one shares available resources. In return, one rightly expects protection, acceptance and help from the brotherhood.

In France today there is talk about freedom and more talk yet about equality. It is brotherhood that is barely mentioned. The rhetoric now is all about "*Solidarité*" — the Labor Department is known as the Ministry of Work and Solidarity, and the sizeable inheritance tax is called the "solidarity tax" as its revenues are clearly marked for social services. The word pops up routinely in writings and discussions, in various social contexts. It never fails to be invoked whenever schemes of resource redistribution are in the offing.

The concept of citizens as brothers has been discarded by globalization, that mighty solvent of

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national borders. If everyone in the new global village is my brother, then I have no brothers. Globalization has also brought all the world's people to France in large waves of immigration, resulting in a blurring of what once defined the mythical French family of citizens. For *Fraternité* never was a brotherhood of blood, but one of a common language, values and history, and of a shared love of country. Can he still be a brother who rejects the intellectual and cultural dimensions of that imagined French family's patrimony, to lay claim only to its material dividends?

Solidarity, we recognize, fits in nicely with the sensibilities of our times in a way that "family" no longer does. It bespeaks of a much wider empathy for others in difficulty, that can be made to stretch to those at the margins of society, and to countries near and far. The trouble is that, unlike love of kin which is deep and enduring, empathy tends to be shallow and shifty. It is not an emotion the State can always rely on to smooth the way as it quests for perfect equality through one redistribution plan after another. When *Fraternité* gives way to *Solidarité* the national motto loses its former internal balance along with much of its affective power.

Until quite recently the national motto — *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité* — was prominently proclaimed at the entrance of every official building in the country. Its lofty ideals graced the walls of every school, every police station, every town hall in the country. It was ubiquitous, a part of the French landscape. Today its profile is lower — newly built schools sometimes skip the proclamation, and others allow theirs to fade away and become illegible. In the newer buildings of government entities that still feel obliged to acknowledge the tradition, it is done unobtrusively. One has to look for the familiar words to find them.

This is indeed a practical and honest way to deal with a nation's outmoded slogan. Why keep on affixing a public reminder that there was a time, within living memory, when the citizens of France thought of themselves as brothers? TSC

NOTE

[1] For readers who are curious it is: *e pluribus unum*, "out of many (thirteen colonies) one (nation)."

More Than Borders Separate Us

A juror's reflections on a courtroom drama

by Linda Thom

On Tuesday, March 4, 1997 my federal jury duty began. I had traveled 100 miles south from my home and stayed overnight in Los Angeles. Up until a year ago, when I retired, I had worked for Santa Barbara County as a budget analyst. Although called numerous times for Superior and Municipal Courts, I had never served — which was just fine with me. This time I was retired and could look forward to being able to serve.

My jury panel was called and names were picked at random to determine who would sit in the jury box for *voir dire* wherein the attorneys and the judge ask questions of potential jurors. My name was selected. The jurors were not told what legal issue was involved, just a few facts and that the case would last about eight days. At the prospect of spending eight nights in a downtown LA hotel, I was feeling less enthusiastic about jury duty. This case involved a San Bernardino County Deputy Sheriff who shot the plaintiffs' son. The plaintiffs were obviously Latino immigrants.

As the attorneys began questioning the potential jurors, I relaxed. The judge asked if any of us knew

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or had relatives who were peace officers. "Great, I'm outta here," I thought as I truthfully answered that I probably know 100 peace officers on a first name basis and that includes the Santa Barbara County Sheriff. The plaintiff's attorney asked my opinion of deputy sheriffs. I told him that they were like husbands, some good and some bad. Silly questions deserve silly answers but that probably persuaded him that I would try to be fair and I ended up on the jury. To my relief, the case only lasted four days.

In the Rodney King and O.J. Simpson cases, the media have made much of the racial divide between blacks and whites. I have thought about these issues but, frankly, I had not given much thought to the great divide between Third World immigrants and native-born Americans living in an industrialized society. This case opened my eyes.

The facts were tragic. Jaime was 23 years old when he died on Sunday, April 11, 1995 at 12:31 p.m. Jaime was spotted by a resident who called 911 as he attempted to burglarize a house in Lake Arrowhead, a mountainous, weekend getaway for congestion-weary Angelenos. Jaime's autopsy showed that he had three times the amount of methamphetamines in his system required for a determination of "under the influence." An expert witness told the jury that "speed" creates the feeling of omnipotence. Jaime must have felt omnipotent that day because when the uniformed deputy drew his service weapon, approached from behind and ordered him to stop and raise his hands, Jaime turned to face the deputy, made eye contact and then turned back around. With his back to the deputy, he reached into his belt area. He then whirled around with a black metallic object in his hand. The deputy, believing Jaime had a gun, shot him. The bullet entered just below Jaime's armpit and traveled across his chest. The black metallic object was a cassette player. A friend of Jaime's later remarked that Jaime was probably trying to "play mind games with the deputy."

The deputy sheriff heroically attempted CPR. It was heroic because blood was flowing from Jaime's mouth and the deputy's prophylactic mouth piece wasn't working. With each contact with Jaime's mouth, the officer had to spit Jaime's blood out of his mouth and begin again. Blood covered his face and his clothing. After some minutes, backup arrived on the scene. The deputy, upon being relieved of CPR, stood to the side and cried. Jaime died.

All parties to these events seemed overwhelmed by sorrow, Jaime's family, Deputy Ricky W. and his family, employers of the plaintiffs and witnesses to the burglary. From start to finish, Jaime's parents were completely overwhelmed. From their lack of understanding about the proceedings, they might as well have been from Mars. The jury members were also unable to understand some of the emotions and facts represented by Jaime's parents. The jury panel consisted of eight people; seven were white and one black.

"I had not given much thought to the great divide between Third World immigrants and native-born Americans living in an industrialized society. This case opened my eyes."

Jaime was the youngest of six children and he and his brother, Raul, Jr., lived with their parents, Odelia and Raul, Sr., in one room — the employees' lounge of Santa's Village in Lake Arrowhead. Santa's Village is a theme park built by a gentleman who does, in fact, look like Santa Claus. Raul, Sr., Jaime and Raul, Jr. worked in season at Santa's Village doing unskilled labor such as picking up trash, operating the rides and raking leaves.

Jaime's parents were difficult witnesses, not because they were uncooperative but because they were confused, rambled on and didn't answer the questions. Odelia and Papa Raul could not speak English. Before they testified, they were given the oath and were told by the interpreter to state their names and then spell them; they could not spell their names. They were illiterate. Odelia rambled on that she knit the hat and vest Jaime was wearing when he was shot. She had given Jaime money to go to McDonald's the morning of his death and arranged to pick him up after she and Papa went to church. She frequently paused and teared up or sobbed but then suddenly seemed to show no

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emotion. Odelia testified that Jaime contributed to the family earnings but she was unsure how much because their employer, "Santa," paid in cash. She said Jaime, age 23, never left home and the family was always together. Jaime had no car, no girl friends, and gave all his money to her to manage.

We later learned from Santa's son, who was the general manager of Santa's Village, that both Raul, Jr. and Jaime had been fired in November prior to Jaime's death in April because "they were acting weird and scaring the tourists." Jaime walked around with his head completely wrapped in towels with only his eyes showing. After Jaime's death in April, when the park opened again in the summer, Raul, Jr. was rehired. When asked why Raul had been rehired, Santa's son replied that Raul, Jr. was now clean and sober.

No one asked how much the plaintiffs earned but court documents showed that Raul, Sr. estimated that they earned $12,000 that prior year. That is well below poverty level for a family of four. As it was paid in cash, that figure might be correct and might not. Certainly, that the men were paid in cash suggests that Santa did not withhold taxes or social security.

At times during the trial, the proceedings became emotional. During testimony about the coroner's findings, Odelia saw the drawing of a body which showed where the bullet struck. She loudly sobbed and fell to the floor. The jury was immediately escorted out of the courtroom. Earlier, a witness, Mrs. S., testified that she had spotted the attempted burglary from her home across the street and called 911. She looked at Jaime's parents and told them how sorry she was about their son's death but "What could I do," she sobbed, "he was trying to break into Connie's house?" Odelia frowned at her. Again, the jury was escorted out of the courtroom. When the jury returned to the courtroom, Mrs. S. had been dismissed.

Jaime's father was a bit more in control of his emotions than Odelia or Mrs. S., but he was also confused. He said that Jaime's coffin cost $19,000. He said that Jaime's body was flown to Michoacan in Mexico for burial. The family also traveled there and stayed nine days. Jaime's father had kept no receipts for his expenses. Papa Raul didn't know how old Jaime was when he died nor did he know in what month his son was born. Jaime's parents waited until a day and a half after Jaime's disappearance before they went to the sheriff's substation at Lake Arrowhead. They were furious that the station was locked when they arrived even though they had waited a day and a half to report Jaime missing. Apparently they also didn't know that only three officers worked out of the substation and they covered 360 square miles of territory. Odelia told us earlier that she lost consciousness when she learned of Jaime's death. Throughout the trial, Jaime's brother Raul, Jr. watched the proceedings. He openly cried many times.

When Deputy Ricky W. testified, Odelia crossed her arms and legs and glared at him with hate-filled eyes. Papa Raul mostly stared at the floor and Raul, Jr. quietly cried. The deputy's voice and body language expressed overwhelming sadness. He, unlike the plaintiffs, kept emotional control on the stand. He recounted the facts but he also said that he feared for his life when Jaime turned his back on him, reached into his waist area where weapons are usually held and then suddenly swirled around with something black and metallic in his hand.

In closing arguments, the plaintiff's attorney described the deputy's action as that of a cowboy. The defendant's attorney said the jury should finally stop "playing with the deputy's mind." The jury received instructions from the judge. The legal question was, did the deputy use excessive force when attempting to apprehend Jaime. If we decided that the deputy violated Jaime's Fourth Amendment rights, we were to determine damages. The eight jury members were instructed that our findings must be unanimous and we retired to another room.

During deliberations, some of the jurors' comments told about the wide gulf between those from a developed nation and those from the Third World. Several jurors were sure that brother Raul and Mama Odelia were faking their grief. After all, it had been almost two years since Jaime got shot so why were they crying? Odelia was overly dramatic, they thought. She fell to the floor and seemed to turn her emotions off and on, they observed. How could she assert that she managed all Jaime's money and that he never left home without his parents. How did he get the methamphetamines? Others couldn't imagine that Raul, Sr. didn't know Jaime's age and were amazed that he hadn't kept receipts. Surely, he had canceled checks, they thought, but how would an illiterate person keep a checking

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account? Raul, Sr. said that the coffin cost $19,000 but the family was asking for only $15,000 in payment for their expenses. Probably Raul meant $1,900, the jury decided. Some jurors were confused about why the family buried Jaime in Michigan. I explained that it was Michoacan, not Michigan.

We decided within half an hour that Deputy Ricky W. did not use excessive force but decided to go to lunch to make it appear that we had not hurried the decision. We were assigned a "baby sitter" at lunch who made sure we did not talk to anyone or wander astray. After lunch, one of the jurors asked rhetorically, "how in the world did this case come to court? The plaintiff's attorney must be an ambulance chaser." I had been upset that the attorney characterized the defendant as a cowboy, but he seemed to me to be extremely caring and considerate of his clients' feelings. Moreover, Jaime's parents were clearly angry about their son's death. Even well educated people in the United States become very angry, blame others and then sue. I didn't express my thoughts but I felt that both the attorney and Jaime's parents brought this case to trial. The verdict the jury reached seemed correct. Deputy Ricky W. was doing his job.

Following the announcement of the verdict, the jurors were told that we did not have to talk to anyone but we could if we wished. We chose not to talk to either the plaintiffs or the defendant. As we walked out of the jury room, the plaintiffs were in the hall. Mama Odelia glowered at us. The jury foreman, Linda B. said, "If looks could kill..." The deputy caught my eye before he went down the elevator. Crying, he mouthed the words, thank you.

What has come of this? For Raul, Jr. perhaps some good came of Jaime's death because Raul became clean and sober. For Jaime's parents, how could any good ever come of losing their son? Would Jaime have been alive and drug-free if his family had remained in Mexico? Santa got cheap labor but at what cost? A friend who is a sheriff's commander told me that officers who shoot people typically leave policing and perhaps this will be the case for Ricky W. A great gulf exists between Jaime's family and Deputy Ricky W.'s. The jurors were entirely non-Hispanic. Would middle-class, Hispanic-American jurors have a different view?

Currently, our nation's politicians support a variety of immigration myths such as the one which states that Third World peasants enrich us. During debate on Lamar Smith's immigration bill last Spring, Representative La Tourette said in part, "Throughout history, legal immigrants have enriched our economy and the goodness of our country." Immigrants are good and hard-working people, they say, and we should not deny them the opportunities our country has to offer. Jaime and his family are typical of the majority of immigrants currently coming to our country through family reunification. Fortunately, most stories do not end with the prince getting shot and killed. The facts in this case suggest that unskilled, uneducated immigrants lead economically bleak lives. No one appears to have been enriched, economically or socially.

"...those who live in communities which are heavily impacted see countless difficulties associated with immigration from cultures very different from our own."

Lest some suggest that one immigrant family does not make the case, let me say that those who live in communities which are heavily impacted see countless difficulties associated with immigration from cultures very different from our own. Some cultural collisions border on the amusing. For example, twenty-five years ago, Santa Barbara County passed an ordinance banning the killing of domestic animals. Southeast Asian refugees, it seems, had been dining on their neighbors' pets. The pet owners probably did not feel enriched by this transplanted culture.

Rodney King and O.J. Simpson make the news but California's racial and cultural divide is not just about blacks and whites but also about Third World peasants and ordinary Americans. It's about Korean immigrant shopkeepers shooting Mexican immigrant youths they believe are shoplifting. It's about gang violence between blacks and Latinos. Robert Frost was correct: good fences make good neighbors — more than borders separate us from our Third World neighbors. TSC

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English As A Foreign Language

Feeling like an intruder at home

by Linda Wasson

All I wanted was some chocolate chips to bake cookies. At the corner bodega I could not find them on the shelf. I asked the clerk, who spoke a little English. He spoke in Spanish to another man, who brought me cocoa. No, that wasn't what I wanted. More discussions in Spanish. Then Chips Ahoy were proffered. No, but close. We went on a few minutes, and they were trying so hard I couldn't just say "Forget it." I was touched by how hard we were all trying to communicate. But finally I left, thanking the men profusely for their effort, shaking my head at what seems to be all too often the ultimate end of such an encounter.

That's life in Inwood today. I like living here. It's a quiet, family neighborhood situated among beautiful parks that spill over in summer with Little Leagues, families, lovers, skaters, older people out for a stroll. Everywhere you can hear the rhythms of Latin music — salsa, meringue and Mexican ballads — emanating from open windows, cars, and even impromptu concerts on street corners.

Inwood is a Spanish-speaking neighborhood, but lower rents and bigger, better-maintained apartments have attracted many non-Spanish-speaking people in recent years, including me.

"The necessity of learning English is not something anyone who wants to live in this country can afford to give up on."

Raised in Texas, I am at home with Inwood's Spanish culture, though my Spanish is limited. But I often feel like an intruder in my own neighborhood as more Spanish-only businesses open, like restaurants that display menus only in Spanish, whose employees speak only Spanish, and don't even bother to advertise anything in English. I would be more than happy to try these restaurants and other businesses, and bring in friends, but do not always feel welcome as a single non-Spanish woman.

Once a friend came for dinner and as she was leaving, suggested we go for an ice cream cone. Having just moved into the neighborhood, I wasn't sure what was where, and we proceeded to walk down Dyckman Street. We entered a local restaurant, expected to be seated, but a man abruptly stopped us at the door. When we told him (in English) we were looking for ice cream, he scowled at us and, in a harsh tone, said something in Spanish that we didn't understand.

Business can be difficult to conduct at one of those little stores with a public fax machine. Employees rarely understand English, and it becomes comical as I hold up pages I want to send. Eventually the faxes go through, albeit with some effort, and again I shrug it off.

But the real eye-opener was when I stopped at the local McDonald's one evening. I gave my order to a young woman and she just stared. No "Can I take your order?" Nothing, Thinking she didn't hear me, I spoke again, a little louder, and she walked over to one of the other employees, whispered something, and he came back and asked for my order. I gave it to him, disbelieving what happened next: he had to translate it into Spanish for her. This young woman — she couldn't be a day over 18 — couldn't speak a word of English. And here she was in the United States working at a McDonald's, of all places.

It is difficult to discuss publicly the necessity of being able to communicate in a common language because some

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Linda Wasson is a writer who has lived in New York for 12 years. This article appeared in the New York Times *May 4, 1997 and is reprinted by permission.*

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people misinterpret such discussion as xenophobic. Many people, myself included, seem fearful, even intimidated, at requiring English on a more sophisticated scale, even as we struggle to coexist, as I do, in our own neighborhoods.

The necessity of learning English is not something anyone who wants to live in this country, whether born here or not, can afford to give up on. Inwood is a small window on the United States of tomorrow — composed of individuals who shared a culture from a different place and gathered to form a community. Reality makes it essential to breach the language barrier, or risk forever being isolated, economically, politically and culturally.

TSC

From the immigration fraud notebook

The Violin Maker

by James Walsh

[*Once again we are privileged to print a true story of immigration fraud from the notebook of former INS employee James Walsh.*]

The post-Cold War era has inspired increasingly innovative applications for employment-based visas; but the Stradivarius violin repairman perhaps takes the cake. The quality and historic value of the violins, cellos, violas and other stringed instruments made by Antonio Stradivari in the 18th century have never been surpassed. About 650 of these instruments remain today. The value of a man trained to repair them would be unquestionable; and this was the thinking of an enterprising Polish national in the 1980s.

At the U.S. Consulate office in Krakow, he applied for the "O" category of U.S. employment visa, reserved for extraordinarily qualified persons. What was his extraordinary qualification? He claimed to be a repairer of Stradivarius violins. The young consular officer suggested the applicant come back in a week. The Polish national agreed and even left documents attesting to his craftsmanship.

The consular officer sent the application up the bureaucratic chain of command. At each level, the application was neither approved nor denied but bucked further up the chain for a decision — a decision for which no one would accept responsibility.

After the first week, the applicant was told to return in another week, as the matter was still under review. The weeks dragged on; and finally a Foreign Service Officer at the State Department made a decision using this reasoning — since there were no other applicants on file as Strad repairers, then this applicant in Krakow must be genuine.

In the Chicago suburbs today there resides a young Polish man, his Polish wife, two Polish-born children, one U.S.-born child, and his in-laws. As gang foreman for an environmental clean-up crew, the young immigrant is providing service to his community. In his spare time he listens to classical music and is especially fond of Chopin. The question remains: if work as a Strad repairman ever came his way, would he be fit to do it? The State Department and the INS never attempted to verify his claim; but if they ever feel so inclined, the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. has an extensive Stradivarius collection.

MORAL: Especially in this time of downsizing, with U.S. citizens being laid off, the INS should verify every application by a foreign national for an employment visa. Otherwise, jobs that could be going to U.S. citizens will continue to be filled by foreign nationals, many of them using fraudulent documents.

TSC

James Walsh, a former associate general counsel with the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), is a consultant on immigration policy. He is a frequent contributor to THE SOCIAL CONTRACT.

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Another Academic Apology for 'Open Borders'

Demographic transformation of Germany & U.S.

Book Review by Joseph Fallon

The American Academy of Arts and Sciences, with the financial support of the German-American Academic Council Foundation, convened three working groups of "lawyers, political scientists, demographers, historians, political philosophers, sociologists, economists, and government officials" from Germany and the United States, to address the refugee and migration issues confronting both countries.

The result was *Migration Past, Migration Future: Germany and the United States.* This is the first in a five volume series which will then be followed by a report entitled "German and American Migration and Refugee Policies: Recommendations of the Joint German-American Project of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences."

Migration Past, Migration Future: Germany and the United States
Edited by Klaus J. Bade and Myron Weiner
Providence and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1997
176 pages, $29.95

Edited by Klaus J. Bade and Myron Weiner, *Migration Past, Migration Future: Germany and the United States* is a collection of four essays — two on Germany, two on the United States — in support of Third World immigration to both countries.

These essays share three characteristics. First, each deliberately confounds current Third World immigration with historic European immigration. Second, each refuses to address the impact Third World immigration has on: carrying capacity, crime, education, energy consumption, environment, health, housing, pollution, standard of living, unemployment, urban sprawl, wages, and welfare. Third, each blames the domestic problems arising from Third World immigration to Germany and the United States on the desire of Germans and Americans to preserve their respective national identities.

A sample of the contents will show that this book is driven by ideology, not facts. The introduction dismisses the concern of U.S. citizens with high welfare rates among Third World immigrants as stemming "from a lack of understanding of the historical experiences with migrants earlier in this century." It asserts that "Prior to the First World War many immigrant families also received public assistance and were dependent on public hospitals for their medical care." But, the welfare state did not exist until the 1960s. To equate two such dissimilar social systems as that of the United States before the First World War with that of the United States in the 1990s, therefore, is intellectually dishonest. Furthermore, between 1882 and 1907, the U.S. government enacted laws that denied admission to immigrants considered likely to become public charges and deported those immigrants who later became public charges.

The first essay "From Emigration to Immigration: The German Experience in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," written by one of the editors, Klaus J. Bade, insists that Germany accept Third World immigrants as its share of an "international balance of burdens." Presumably this means assisting the development of the Third World by taking in her surplus population. That the ongoing population explosion in the Third World

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prevents economic development is ignored by the author as is the fact that encouraging immigration to Europe and the United States discourages attempts at population control in Third World countries. Furthermore, this "international balance of burdens" does not demand reciprocity. For example, Germany must accept Turks as immigrants and citizens, but Turkey does not have to accept Germans or any other Europeans as immigrants and citizens. The stated objectives of the author are social coexistence, not social cohesion; cultural tolerance, not assimilation.

"Missing are any references to opinion polls showing most U.S. citizens want immigration dramatically reduced, with some favoring a five-year moratorium."

The second essay, "An Immigration Country of Assimilative Pluralism: Immigrant Reception and Absorption in American History", is the worst of the lot. It was written by Reed Ueda, a member of a visible minority, an Asian American, who is deeply disturbed by the fact that Europeans founded the United States. He, therefore, responds by promoting "the big lie" that the United States was never a European country. His essay opens with the pronouncement: "Unlike the nation-states of Europe, the United States has historically been a country in which heterogeneity formed the basis of the state." Compare that with the words of John Jay, who, writing in *The Federalist Papers* ("Federalist No. 2"), described the United States in 1787 as: "one united people, a people descended from the same ancestors, speaking the same language, professing the same religion, attached to the same principles of government, very similar in their manners and customs."

Mr. Ueda asserts that the national motto of the United States, "E Pluribus Unum" ("out of many, one"), which refers to the former thirteen British colonies joining together to form a general government, really refers to "the new government's confidence in the unity that would arise from the diversity of the American people." To advance this falsehood, Mr. Ueda misrepresents a 1792 "Report on Manufactures" by the Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, to suggest that the latter favored immigration. In fact, Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson both publicly opposed immigration as a threat to the homogeneity and national security of the United States.

Censored from Mr. Ueda's review of the 1965 Immigration Act is the fact that Congressional sponsors of that bill repeatedly promised the citizens of the United States their legislation: (1) would not increase the annual levels of immigration, (2) would not lower the standards for admission, (3) would not redirect immigration away from Europe, and (4) would not alter the demographic composition of the United States — along with the fact that all four of these promises were broken. Also missing are any references to opinion polls showing most U.S. citizens want immigration dramatically reduced, with some favoring a five-year moratorium.

Despite the title of his essay, the lack of assimilation among Third World immigrants and the resulting Balkanization of America which even the *New York Times* has reported is "producing a kind of racial and ethnic polarization" is likewise ignored by Mr. Ueda. Instead, he proclaims the United States is "a permanently unfinished country."

The scope of Mr. Ueda's incompetency is phenomenal. When referring to Germany's immigration policy, Mr. Ueda writes that it was only after World War II that Germany decided to become an immigrant-receiving country after having first built its advanced industrial economy "in the framework of ethnic nationalism." In fact, as the first essay on Germany in this volume relates, large numbers of foreign laborers were employed in Germany since the 1880s. By 1913, there were 1.2 million "foreigner migrant workers." And the return to the use of foreign labor after World War II was not to gratify a whim for social engineering as he claims, but the result of Germany's desperate need to rebuild its devastated economy and infrastructure.

"Changing Patterns of Immigration to Germany, 1945-1995: Ethnic Origins, Demographic Structure, Future Prospects" is the third essay and was co-written by Rainer Munz and Ralf Ulrich. It includes three possible scenarios for German demographics

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in the years 2015 and 2030 based on whether current immigration levels remain constant, decrease or increase. According to their projections, by 2030 the foreign population as a percentage of the total population of Germany will be 17 percent under the first scenario, 13 percent under the second, and 21 percent under the third. No projections, however, are offered based on either a termination of all immigration or a restriction of immigration to the hundreds of thousands of ethnic Germans residing in the former Soviet Bloc. Furthermore, this essay offers no justification for why any non-ethnic German immigration should continue. Similarly, there is no demand for reciprocity in immigration and naturalization between Germany and immigrant-sending countries such as Turkey. The only demand made by the authors is on Germany. They insist that country "change the way it perceives Germany as an ethnically defined nation-state, conferring citizenship primarily on the children of natives and on co-ethnics from Eastern Europe." According to this argument, Israel would have to abolish "The Law of Return" and cease to be the Jewish State.

The final essay, "The Changing Demography of U.S. Immigration Flows: Patterns, Projections, and Contexts" was co-written by Frank D. Bean, Robert G. Cushing, and Charles W. Haynes. The authors dismiss as alarmist the idea that Third World immigration will lead to "increased interracial and interethnic competition for jobs, housing, and social services, if not more overt conflict". Instead, they assert that, what they claim is an increasing rate of intermarriage among racial/ethnic groups (supposedly facilitated by Third World immigration), will likely prevent interracial strife or conflict.

Their unique form of "integration" is contradicted by, among others, William H. Frey, a demographer and research scientist at the University of Michigan's Population Studies Center, who reports that as a result of Third World immigration "[w]e are now seeing white flight from whole states and regions". He has labeled this phenomenon "the flight from diversity." Perhaps this is why Professor Frey does not appear in the list of reference sources at the end of the essay.

Furthermore, the authors offer no examples of interracial marriages leading to strife-free societies. This is understandable since those that do exist — such as Brazil, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Mexico — are not models, economically, politically, or socially, which any country would wish to emulate.

In addition, the statistics presented on interracial marriage are unclear. Admitting that most Hispanics are classified as "white" by the U.S. government, the authors stress the fact they separated Hispanics from non-Hispanic whites in their population projections for 1990 through 2020. However, the evidence which they offer for an increase in interracial marriages between 1968 and 1988 refers only to marriages between blacks and whites, in which Hispanics were apparently counted as "white." It is not clear in their citations on marriages between blacks and other groups, and between whites and other groups whether Hispanics were counted as "white" or as "other groups."

"Perhaps the most brazen example of disinformation by the authors is the citation of ten-year-old sources to 'prove' their case."

Perhaps the most brazen example of disinformation by the authors is the citation of ten-year-old sources to "prove" their case. Through such misrepresentation, they declare: "[b]ut the general conclusion that clearly emerged was that immigration did not appear to be generating much in the way of large effects, whether positive or negative. Almost all of this research, however, has been based on data collected during the 1970s and early to mid-1980s. The question that remains unanswered is whether similar results would obtain during periods of even greater immigration and continuing slow job and wage growth."

But legal immigration has increased dramatically since the mid-1980s as a result of the Immigration and Reform Control Act (IRCA) of 1986 and the 1990 Immigration Act. The economic evidence that its impact has been negative was readily available to these authors. To cite just two of

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these sources: Dr. George Borjas of Harvard University and Dr. Donald L. Huddle of Rice University. Dr. Borjas has found current Third World immigration results in an annual displacement of two million U.S. workers and the depression of U.S. wages by $133 billion a year, while Third World immigrants have a welfare dependency rate approximately 50 percent higher than native-born Americans in general, and nearly 100 percent higher than "white, non-Hispanic" Americans in particular. This essay ignores these findings. In fact, only two early works by Dr. Borjas, 1987 and 1990, are even cited in the text and the reference list.

Dr. Huddle has found the cost to the U.S. taxpayer in net public assistance to immigrants, both legal and illegal, was more than $65 billion in 1996, and is expected to rise to $108 billion annually within the decade. Not surprisingly, his findings were similarly ignored and his name completely omitted from this essay and its accompanying list of reference sources.

Migration Past, Migration Future: Germany and the United States fails as an objective and scholarly work. However, the fact that it has to resort to disinformation and dissimulation to justify Third World immigration to Germany and the United States is further evidence that the immigration reform movement has won all the arguments. TSC

Catastrophism

A genre for our times

Books Reviewed by Mark Wegierski

With a tone and message somewhat similar to those of the anchorman-turned-prophet in Chayefsky's film *Network*, Greider takes the reader on an exhilarating, insightful, and sometimes disturbing trip across several levels of the new global economic realities, with ever-present intimations of apocalypse. There is a certain irony in Greider's position as national editor of *Rolling Stone*, a publication that so obviously benefits from trends like globalization; as it pushes forward a global consumerist pop-culture, at the expense of all rooted and traditional cultures of the planet — the result is what some have termed "Planet Teen." Greider's ideas, delivered against the broad canvas of his globe-trotting explorations (and peppered with interesting terms like *kudoka* — Japanese for hollowing out) could be seen as a profound challenge to overly-boosterist understandings of international capitalism.

One World, Ready or Not: The Manic Logic of Global Capitalism
by William Greider
New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997
528 pages, $27.50

The Ends of the Earth: A Journey at the Dawn of the 21st Century
by Robert D. Kaplan
New York: Random House, 1996
493 pages, $27.50

Jihad vs McWorld: How Globalism and Tribalism Are Reshaping the World
by Benjamin J. Barber
New York: Ballantine Books, 1996
399 pages, $12.95 trade paperback

Greider focuses largely on the economic impact of globalization. He argues that the processes of economic globalization create a downward spiral of wages from which it is almost impossible to escape, as there are always poorer countries to which the transnational corporations can relocate. According to Greider there is chronic overproduction, without an increase in the consumer base to buy the products — much like the situation before the Great Depression. Greider warns that massive economic and environmental disaster will ensue unless new "worker-owner" and ecological understandings alter those trajectories.

The book clearly demonstrates (as if such a demonstration were even necessary) that the current capitalist system is internationalist to its core. It does

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not give a damn about the working-classes in Europe and North America, and is ever eager to either relocate its main production to Third World countries, or (although Greider does not discuss this) bring Third World populations into the West, as a cheap labor force. The continuing identification of capitalism as coterminous with traditionalism, which is especially marked in the United States, has a baneful effect on whatever residues of tradition remain in America.

'The processes of economic globalization create a downward spiral of wage-reductions from which it is almost impossible to escape, as there are always poorer countries to which the transnational corporations can relocate."

The flow of capital, goods, and (eventually) labor, tends toward totally unimpeded circulation, in which nation-states are simply "irrational" resistors, which will simply have to be overcome. The eventual result for the West will likely be the creation of a *very* thin layer of super-rich, and the adjustment of the living standards of the majority of the population downward — *way* downward.

Greider's ideas are far more descriptive of the realities of our troubled planet than those of almost any U.S. neoconservative.

Based on his groundbreaking article, "The Coming Anarchy" (*The Atlantic Monthly*, February 1994), *The Ends of the Earth* recreates Kaplan's extensive travels in the typical Third World or "South", in Africa and Asia (although not Latin America). Kaplan seems to have a real talent for visiting the biggest "hellholes" or "basketcase" places. He is the very opposite of a typical Western tourist, as he willingly puts himself into the most uncomfortable settings. He is courageous in telling the truth — while there are some glimmers of hope, life in such places is often horrid and sordid.

Most of the places he visits are in the throes of a massive population explosion, wracked with violence and surreal corruption, and blighted by endemic diseases and ecological disasters of unbelievable magnitude. Kaplan's rather straightforward narrative style leads to a continuous reinforcement of the idea that the current-day world is dangerously disassociated. Many smug Western technophiles prefer to ignore that "large swaths of the earth at the end of the twentieth century [are] not linked by the Internet..." (p. 319)

Kaplan suggests that official state boundaries and economic policies, especially in Africa and Central Asia, are increasingly giving way to ethnic, tribal, and religious divisions, informal parallel economies, and various irregular forces. However, this is not a trend necessarily limited to those areas, or even the Third World. Even the most developed Western nation-states are beginning to show signs of similar fragmentation. In a world full of uncertainty, and unbelievably rapid social transformation, many persons try to cling to their ethnic identity, to their "roots". (However, it could be pointed out that what might be an almost redemptive alternative in the wild flux of hyper-modernity has become considered highly illegitimate today for virtually all European and European-descended peoples.)

Indeed, for a reflective person of European descent, the primary emotion connected with the book might well be fear. There are enormous, unchecked forces in the "underground" of the planet that may simply overwhelm the carefully built-up edifice of European civilization, with all of its various comforts that are today so casually taken for granted. Kaplan's book should allow one to see, for example, the essential pettiness of complaints about poverty in North America today (in their typical use for the indictment of an undifferentiated "Right") — and how they utterly miss the point of what may become the critical struggle for civilization in the 21st century and beyond.

Benjamin J. Barber, a highly respected political theorist, first juxtaposed the terms "Jihad vs. McWorld" in a cover-article of *The Atlantic Monthly* (March 1992). It has often been noted that many great insights are simply only the systematization of easily observable trends, though perhaps voiced with greater flourish and with some key new terms. Such is the case with Benjamin Barber's work, whose phrasing of "Jihad vs. McWorld" has probably entered the general vocabulary of most educated

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persons interested in current events. What is interesting about Barber's efforts is the stress on the dialectical interrelationship and interpenetration of the two global "megatrends" (or "megatraumas" — to borrow a phrase from another futurist- pundit).

What can be seen is that many traditional cultures outside the West have reacted with a particular ethnic and religious fundamentalist ferocity against "junk-westernization," precisely because they feel the threat to their traditions to be so acute. The picture on the book's cover, showing an Iranian girl in ultra-traditional dress, drinking from a can of Pepsi, illustrates this dilemma perfectly. While on the one hand, the traditional cultures are ferociously fighting for their preservation, on the other, the penetration of "McWorld" (for which another term could be "North-Americanization") is so relentless, and yet sometimes so subtle, that the traditional cultures are left with practically no defenses against it.

"...even the most moderate assertions of so-called Eurocentrism are seen as an aberrant evil."

What is perhaps the most important point is the virtual all-pervasiveness of North American pop-culture, particularly in the forms of rock-music and rock-videos, across the planet. For example, almost everyone knows today who the pop-star Madonna is.

A point which Benjamin Barber might have stressed more is the almost direct sexual appeal of North American pop-culture, both as deployed against traditional Western cultures, and traditional cultures outside the West. Many Hollywood movies (let alone pornographic videos) ooze with the promise of sexual nirvana. Indeed, the extent to which a traditional or semi-traditional culture crumbled in the 1960s in America may have had a lot do with the almost unlimited sexual pleasure that was apparently offered to everyone, in exchange for discarding most aspects of social conservatism (and of any real American and American-regional, notably Southern, identities). Although the Sexual Revolution has definitely soured for some, it must be said that at almost no point could conservative thinking formulate any kind of meaningful sexual counter-ethic that might have possessed a greater attractiveness for the young. One thing that may be initially noted, as a possible opportunity for a renascent conservatism, is that many straight white males are now in the throes of a semi-permanent identity/devalorization crisis.

The Sixties eruption and its aftermath was also coterminous with an outburst of new technologies — television, the ubiquitous VCR, and now computers and the Internet. The near-infinite multiplication of images which these media offered meant that the pop-culture could be spread to the furthest corners of the Earth.

Two major points may be addressed to Benjamin Barber's megathesis. First, that the "Jihad" tendencies among the Western societies which are the spawning ground for McWorld are particularly weak for their majority populations. For example, while all groups considered "persons of color" in America are enjoying a real efflorescence of ethno-racial identity, which is sometimes taken to fanatical extremes, even the most moderate assertions of so-called Eurocentrism are seen as an aberrant evil. If these tendencies are not challenged soon, both in terms of moderating minority ethnocentrism and strengthening European identity, the result will be that persons of European descent will become virtual pariahs in their own countries, while at the same time being continually and vociferously accused of being cruel and harsh oppressors. European and European-descended societies, in their embrace of the hyper-modern McWorld, appear from the traditionalist standpoint to be "progressively accelerated to oblivion."

It is instructive to note that the Western equivalent of "Jihad" — a "Crusade" — is notably absent from European cultures today, apart from the secularized and liberalized sense of "crusades" — for example, against smoking. It can be seen that Christianity and the Cross has been all but expunged from most European societies, apart from its necrotic, secularized aspects of a morbid self-hatred and ultra-universalism.

The second point is that the alternative to the excesses of Jihad and McWorld is not necessarily coterminous with strengthening "democratic

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principles" (if one means by this dogmatic Left-liberalism). Rather, the great hope of the future should lie in "rooted, reflective particularity", which is in any event what many European peoples have tried to practice as an ideal, although most fell far short of it. In this world of instantaneous communications, it seems that no one could for a long time maintain a fever pitch of particularist fanaticism such as that represented, say, by judgements of Islamic courts in Iran as to how large stones used in stoning women should be, and that the women be stoned to death in no longer than a day.

One of the most odious examples of particularist fanaticism known to the reviewer is the slaughter of close to half a million Poles by Ukrainian nationalist extremists during World War II (as Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has officially acknowledged) which were also carried out in the most hideous of ways, e.g. using crude farm implements. (One must fervently hope that such despicable mass-slaughter is part of the past, at least in the world's more civilized areas.) On the other hand, universalist notions of juridical legalism, "human rights" and internationalism are no substitute for a genuine national identity, which must to a large extent remain ethnic in character. A degree of genuine reflection is always needed lest the particularist attachment degenerate into genocidal insanity. But it is also clear that the notion of nation being proposed here is far more robust than that found in most European countries today.

One would be searching for a path between genocidal fanaticism, and the deracinated, anomic, identity-less milieu which seems to characterize most European and European-descended peoples today. Such a healing rootedness would not be dogmatically Left-liberal and equalitarian, and, indeed, might have many aspects which would in today's overheated context be considered "exclusivist" and "authoritarian." Yet it seems unlikely that what some political theorists call "the erotic" sense of community can exist without some forms of subordination, exclusion, and closure of options. This kind of healing rootedness would also potentially be a salve for all the non-European traditional societies, although most of them would probably be approaching it from the direction of lessening their own particularist extremisms.

As far as the European and European-descended societies are concerned, perhaps the principle task would be to try to re-imbue European identity with a sense of heroism, high worth and meaning, and, indeed, adventure — to endeavor to formulate neotraditionalism in a way that would somehow challenge the still-lingering, near-automatic equation of the embrace of political Left-liberalism with the efflorescence of sexual nirvana. Such endeavors, in the current context, would probably focus around the keyword "Romanticism."

TSC

"Now tell me civilization is not on the downward slope."

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A Global Paradox

'No' to the movement of money but not people

Books reviewed by John F. Rohe

In a hard-hitting trilogy of books, with 1,103 cumulative pages, the Sierra Club expresses its disdain for the persistent drift toward a global economy.

Electronic pulses representing massive transfers of monetary wealth now whiz across the planet with the speed of light. Even national borders are no longer speed bumps on the road to economic growth. Computer technology empowers money to scour the planet instantaneously. These three Sierra Club Books artfully probe the underlying objectives and effects of corporate globalization.

In *The Case Against the Global Economy*, editors Jerry Mander and Edward Goldsmith assemble forty-three separate essays, in a logical format. The essays evaluate the impact of globalization, why globalization has failed us, what engines continue to drive us toward globalization, and how we may once again restore a local economy.

Did you ever want to join scores of notable authors in a roundtable discussion on the effects of technology and corporate globalization? There is no need to leave your home. You will also be accompanied by the compassionate talent and organizational expertise of editor Stephanie Mills in *Turning Away From Technology*. This book represents the collective wisdom of great thinkers in our time, with the editorial hand of Stephanie Mills to bring clarity and brevity to each comment.

The Case Against the Global Economy and *Turning Away From Technology* include the views of leaders in the conservation movement. In *The Corporate Planet*, Joshua Karliner, exposes greed in the corporate global reach. Mitsubishi, Chevron, the hazardous waste industry, the green-washing public relations industry and others fall within Karliner's scope as he exposes the day-to-day hazards of globalization.

I find seven common arguments against globalization emerging in these three books from the Sierra Club.

1. **Environmental Standards.** As stated by Joshua Karliner at page 82 of *The Corporate Planet* "With freshly opened, burgeoning new markets available, U.S. corporations are now attempting to use the global economy as a wedge to dismantle U.S. environmental standards in the name of jobs and economic competitiveness." Karliner also points out: "...this kind of approach sets up a race to the bottom of the regulatory barrel." With the speed and efficiency of a computer chip, companies are able to track down the lowest environmental standards instantaneously, while exacting an economic penalty from areas of environmental protection.

2. **Employment Protections.** The weakest environmental protections are not the only links in the chain of national sovereignty stalked by the corporate globalizers. Employment standards, and child labor laws, are also under assault. Nimble corporations gracefully dance around established standards to exploit the most vulnerable workers,

The Case Against the Global Economy
by Jerry Mander and Edward Goldsmith
San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1996
549 pages, $16.00

The Corporate Planet
by Joshua Karliner
San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1997
298 pages, $16.00

Turning Away from Technology
by Stephanie Mills
San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1997
256 pages, $18.00

***John F. Rohe** an attorney in Petoskey, Michigan, with a long-standing interest in environmental concerns, is the author of* A Bicentennial Malthusian Essay: Conservation, Population and the Indifference to Limits. *Copies may be ordered from the Social Contract Press, 1-800-352-4843.*

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wherever they may be found on the face of the earth.

3. **Cultural Integrity**. Indigenous cultures become the first casualty in the search for weak standards and vulnerable employees. The unsustainable consumption patterns of industrial nations are transplanted to historic cultures least able to maintain their integrity against the tide of globalization.

4. **Community Fabric**. Localized and sustainable lifestyles woven into a community fabric are systematically dislodged by globalization. Communities of indigenous peoples have established enduring practices to live with the land. Their sustainable lifestyle is endangered by globalization.

5. **Growth Ethic**. "Growth for the sake of growth," in the words of the late Edward Abbey, "is the ideology of a cancer cell." An abiding faith in economic growth is the unexamined conviction in the age of globalization. Practices of a community or nation are dislodged as the corporate growth ethic now rapidly metastasizes on the face of the earth. With free trade treaties on a fast track, even national sovereignty has plummeted in the global community.

6. **Language Losses**. The common bond of language helps ensure cultural integrity. The world's 6,000 languages will soon by reduced by 50%, to 3,000. This becomes yet another casualty of globalization.

7. **Accountability**. A local economy promotes accountability. Where the impact of an irresponsible economic decision is close at hand, the decision makers cannot always escape the voice of concern. Where, however, the decision makers' money is instantaneously whisked across the globe, accountability is compromised. The global economic network establishes only a one-way street. It allows the safe migration of money, but the voice of concern does not enjoy the same swift passage. Any response is effectively silenced by geography. Where might the tenant farmer in a Philippine barrio go to complain of the toxic waste site next door? Wall Street? Not likely. The decision-maker thus enjoys near immunity from the concerns of an afflicted distant community suffering environmental and labor abuse.

While the Sierra Club has taken a well-reasoned and formidable position against globalization, it has not embraced immigration reform. Indeed, there is a remarkable silence on the topic of immigration reform in this trilogy of Sierra Club Books. Yet the intellectual underpinnings of opposition to globalization parallel principles of the immigration reform movement.

"An abiding faith in economic growth is the unexamined conviction in the age of globalization."

* * *

"The [far-away corporate] decision-maker enjoys immunity from the concerns of an afflicted distant community suffering environmental and labor abuse."

It seems to this reviewer that each of the seven themes identified above finds a counterpart in the immigration reform movement. Open borders, whether for massive monetary exchange, or for extensive movement of people, are often products of a corporate culture. Economic globalization and open borders serve to undermine national sovereignty and its existing standards of environmental decency and employment dignity. The Sierra Club observes that globalization is brought to us by the same people who brought us urban sprawl and the Love Canal. Casualties in the wake of this so-called progress do not register on their radar screens.

The Sierra Club is conducting a vote on whether to support immigration reform. Its passionate opposition to globalization brings it just one heartbeat away from firmly embracing immigration reform. Opposing the immense global movement of money while upholding the massive migration of people is a global paradox. Hopefully the irony will not be lost on the Sierra Club members. TSC

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Importing Crime

Dominican immigrants — legal and illegal — have transformed a section of New York City

Book review by Kevin Jenks

Lo and behold, from the Harvard University Press issues a book that sides with the police against the criminals, with immigration enforcement authorities against illegal aliens, and with America's law-abiding, taxpaying citizenry against the interests that profit from America's growing imported underclass.

Robert Jackall, the author of *Wild Cowboys: Urban Marauders and the Forces of Order*, carried out the field work for his book largely in New York City's 34th Precinct, where he rode with police officers for over two years in 1992-1994. There his research centered on the dynamics of retailing unlawful drugs in some of New York City's most dangerous neighborhoods, above all the Washington Heights section of northern Manhattan.

Wild Cowboys: Urban Marauders and the Forces of Order
by Robert Jackall
Cambridge, MA:
Harvard University Press, 1997
368 pages, $24.95

Jackall's presentation of how narcotics trafficking and out-of-control immigration, inextricably intertwined, have transformed what, only a generation ago, was still an American neighborhood, would by itself make *Wild Cowboys* a valuable contribution to the immigration controversy. It is more valuable still for its unflinching relation of the chilling details of how American law enforcement officers were abandoned and betrayed by some of New York's leading officials — out of their desire to placate a "community" dominated by alien felons.

In the 1980s Washington Heights became New York's leading center for distribution of crack cocaine (which seems to have been invented there). At that time (as it is today), the area was the chief destination and center of settlement for immigrants from the Dominican Republic. Many are doubtless hardworking and honest, but as Jackall shows, in the late 1980s and early 1990s a criminal class, comprised largely of illegals, was able to parlay profits from the drug trade and other illicit enterprises, coupled with murderous intimidation, into commanding economic and political influence.

In form, *Wild Cowboys* is a true-crime book. It derives its title from the name of one out of the numerous gangs of Dominican crack sellers that flourished in Washington Heights during the past decade. The book's narrative focus is on the investigation, solution, trial and punishment of three different murder cases committed by members and associates of the Wild Cowboys during the gang's brief and violent efflorescence. Two of these killings (which entailed six murders) involved business disputes between the Cowboys and their competitors in late 1991; the third, in May of that year, was the drive-by shooting of a young white motorist from the suburbs who was unwise enough to cut off several Cowboys as they drove home from a downtown Manhattan club.

As a crime book, this is a good, though dense, read. The cast of characters is huge: police, prosecutors, "vics" (murder victims), and the inevitable "perps," whose multitudinous numbers in *Wild Cowboys* are further bolstered by numerous aliases and street names. There's no end of police heroics, painstaking detective work, and sardonic insight into the dynamics of drug trade on the streets. Hardnosed (as well as dry) Jackall recognizes that "[t]he most important rule in this world of action is that violence is the first resort to solve all problems" (p. 65). His depiction of his subjects is nothing if not "subversive" (as today's trendy

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***Kevin Jenks**, a previous contributor, reported on Dominican immigration policy in the Summer 1997 issue of* THE SOCIAL CONTRACT — *Vol. VII, No. 4, p.268.*

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academics like to call their notions) of the widely held confusion of slum cutthroats with urban Robin Hoods. Furthermore, Jackall has a fine, flinty, Yankee kind of irony that makes his book's sociological — or better sociopathological — focus more easily bearable, and serves also as an effective counterpoint to the lurid, semitropical lushness of its characters' passions and deportment.

Yet it is in its analysis of immigration-connected crime that *Wild Cowboys* shines. Jackall bells a cat that thousands of timorous souls (many of them self-described "conservatives") have shied from in hundreds of prolix circumevasions in one lapidary sentence: "Illegals generate illegality" (p. 62) — three words that might be posted beside, if not in place of, Emma Lazarus's tired lines a few miles south of Washington Heights.

Jackall outlines the workings of an entire illicit economy in place, enabling migrants from the Dominican Republic first to gain a foothold and earn a living in New York, then to send large amounts of money back home. Such immigrants, both legal and illegal, enjoy instant access to a dense network of opportunities and services, some proscribed only for non-citizens, such as various welfare benefits; others, such as unregistered hand guns or forged documents, forbidden to citizen and alien alike. The author evokes in detail the plenitude of fake documents — from social security cards to driver's licenses to green cards to passports — illegals are able to buy within a few days of their arrival in Washington Heights. He hopes to dispose a few of his readers to hear or read, ever again, the words "undocumented aliens" without a smile of contempt.

Among the Dominicans who swarm to New York legally and illegally (a report in the *New York Times* [November 10, 1997] described Dominicans as "New York City's largest and fastest growing immigrant group"), it is the hard young men without prospects from the urban slums of Santo Domingo, San Pedro de Macoris, or Santiago who supply *Wild Cowboys*'s most memorable characters. As Jackall points out, like Al Pacino's ruthless Marielito in the remake of *Scarface*, the Dominicans who serve as captains and cadres of the crack crews regard American justice with contempt, and consider the lucrative rewards to be had from the drug business and from such sidelines as stealing and altering luxury cars for export as theirs for the taking.

Their exploits helped boost the 34th Precinct, twenty-five years ago largely a peaceable preserve of Irish Americans and Jews emigrated from Germany (among them the youthful Henry Kissinger), into a pandemonium of murder and mayhem where at least 638 homicides were committed from 1987 through 1993. These statistics, of course, fail even to hint at the horrors they enumerate: hapless bystanders, some of them children, shot dead by mistake; participants in the highly competitive drug game murdered by their bosses (to punish some infraction) or by outsiders (to learn the whereabouts of hidden drugs or cash, often after excruciating torture).

For a prime specimen of America's recent immigration bumper crop of desperadoes from the Dominican, consider one Francisco Medina. An enforcer and assassin whose relentless ferocity in another place and time might have earned him a sobriquet from Greek mythology, or perhaps the Book of Revelation, in Washington Heights (in a homage to the emissive power of American popular culture, even in northern Manhattan), he became known as "Freddy Krueger." He entered America illegally in 1988, swimming to shore in Miami from a freighter on which he had stowed away. Eventually hooking up with the Wild Cowboys in New York as their enforcer and assassin, he acquired his reputation and his nickname by the relentless and nightmarish ferocity with which he carried out his assignments. Able to escape to the Dominican Republic — which, by law, does not extradite its citizens(!) — Freddy turned his attention to *santeria*, of which it is said he has become a wizard. In April of 1997, however, following importuning from America, he was arrested by Dominican authorities, and may or may not, depending on the pressure the U.S. is able (in view of popular Dominican defiance of the Yankee Colossus) and willing (in view of his standing as a clergyman) to exert in the future, be brought back to New York to stand trial for the seven to fifteen murders he is thought to have committed.

Many thousands of compassionless criminals have swarmed through our porous immigration controls; then used New York and America's capacious "safety net" and the tattered seines of our criminal system to soar high and swim far and wide, unapprehended, to vast, illegal profit. The civic-

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minded American might think that immigration scandal enough to reveal — and to bear. Those Americans, however, who in the words of Britain's late Enoch Powell have "hardened their faces like flint" to see and hear the worst about our country's immigration tragedy, and then to do something about it, are very much in Jackall's debt for his not omitting the sickening details of the role of American officials and interests in the fall of Washington Heights during the two hundredth anniversary of its namesake's first presidency.

Briefly related, in 1988 a New York police officer named Michael Buczek was shot dead after he happened on a drug robbery in Washington Heights. His murderer, Daniel Mirambeaux, escaped to the Dominican Republic. Police were shocked by the absence of cooperation from the good non-citizenry and citizenry of the Heights. Meanwhile, Joseph Occhipinti, a hard-charging, highly decorated officer who was chief of Immigration Naturalization Services anti-smuggling unit in the New York area, began an investigation of the network of bodegas, or shops, in laundering drug money for remittance to the Dominican Republic, where it is a key prop in the DR's feeble economy.

As the investigation proceeded, the bodega owners, many of them of course drug-connected if not gang chiefs themselves, made a great outcry over their violated "civil rights." New York city's first black mayor, David Dinkins, was elected in 1989; his margin of victory was New York's Spanish-speaking voters. By 1991, Occhipinti was indicted on a variety of charges which hinged on testimony by various of the owners of the bodegas he had searched. Before Occhipinti was able to gather evidence impeaching his accusers, he was convicted, and sentenced to over three years in prison. When his appeal failed, he was put in a holding cell for a while with several drug dealers from Washington Heights, then transported to El Reno prison in Oklahoma.

Just a few weeks after the INS's foremost crime fighter in Washington Heights was unceremoniously deposited in a maximum security federal penitentiary, NYPD patrolman Michael O'Keefe shot and killed a certain Kiko Garcia after a desperate struggle in the heart of Washington Heights. Following a riot in the Heights, noisy asseverations of the late Garcia's innocence and probity in front of City Hall, and the testimony of purported eyewitnesses that Garcia had been unarmed, Mayor Dinkins and Manhattan Borough President Ruth Messinger (1997's Democratic candidate for mayor) publicly sympathized with the Garcias and shunned O'Keefe and his fellow cops. Even after it was demonstrated incontrovertibly that Garcia was a drug pusher, and that the "eyewitnesses" were his associates, O'Keefe received no apologies. Meanwhile, New York City paid for his burial in the Dominican Republic.

Joe Occhipinti was pardoned by President Bush just before he left office in 1993, and fights to bring the facts of criminality connected to immigration abuse to the American public (although he has never been exonerated of the false charges brought against him). Dinkins and Messinger have been banished from office. Serious crime in New York City, and even in Washington Heights, is in decline.

Yet, as Jackall demonstrates, there is no cause yet either to decrease our vigilance or to slacken in the fight for immigration reform. The flood tide of illegal immigration from the Dominican Republic shows no sign of abating. That country remains a refuge for scores and hundreds of thugs besides "Freddy Krueger," all of them sought for serious crimes committed in America. As Dominicans continue to acquire voting rights in America, New York's politicians will continue to court their votes, whether in Washington Heights or in Santo Domingo, as did Messinger in 1997. Given the easy acceptance that even a reputed hard-liner on crime such as New York's Mayor Rudy Giuliani offers to the illegal aliens that continue to infest his city, both the tinder and the fuel for a flare-up of the intensity of the Dominican drug wars of the late 1980s and early 1990s are in ample supply.

All too few books that bring the analytic ability of a scholar of Robert Jackall's powers — not to mention a hard-headedness that approaches that of a veteran street cop — to bear on immigrant crime as it menaces us and holds us hostage and suborns our elected elites are available to the American public today. Readers in search of a narrative at turns thrilling, at times enthralling; who can face hard facts and stern truths; and an author who stands up for the good guys, are directed without reservation to *Wild Cowboys.* TSC

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Four Books About Criminal Aliens

Books reviewed by Wayne Lutton

Supporters of mass immigration portray newcomers as upstanding, hardworking folks—possessing "strong family values"—who simply want the opportunity to "revitalize" neighborhoods gone to ruin. This cheerful view holds that mass immigration is a perpetual motion machine fueling one economic windfall after the other, as these enterprising aliens improve life, not merely for themselves, but for all Americans.

While there is an element of truth to this version of the immigrant experience, it fails to provide a fully accurate portrait of the millions of foreign nationals who move about the United States. Borders loosely open to immigrants with benign aspirations are equally open to people who have a far different intent.

Criminal activities committed by aliens have escalated dramatically. The foreign-born crowd local, state, and federal prisons across the country. According to the U.S. Bureau of Prisons, at any given time, around a quarter of federal inmates are aliens, hailing from more than 120 countries. "If we think this figure is high, what is worse is that seven out of eight [criminal] aliens are either released or given probation and never serve time in prison," reports Rep. LaMar Smith (R-Texas), Chairman of the House Immigration Subcommittee.

These statistics do not imply that all or most immigrants are law-breakers. But disturbingly large numbers see crime as their avenue to success in the American land of opportunity.

But for the Immigration Act of 1965, the Refugee Act of 1980, and the general failure to control illegal immigration, the challenge to public order presented by criminal aliens should be winding down by now. The 1965 Act opened the United States to mass Third World immigration. Many more have entered as "refugees." The social effects of these measures were not felt until a critical mass of foreign colonists arrived on the shores of North America. As *U.S. News & World Report* conceded, "it is startling the degree to which the clout of newer ethnic gangs is reflective of immigration trends."

Our current immigrant crime wave has come to the attention of not only victims and police professionals across the country, but to journalists and academic criminologists. This is reflected in a growing literature on the topic, a sampling of which we consider in this issue of THE SOCIAL CONTRACT.

Veteran newspaper reporter William Kleinknecht provides a useful overview of the foreign crime groups that have cascaded onto the American landscape. In *The New Ethnic Mobs* he reviews the history of organized crime in America, noting that "mass immigration has long been a precursor of upheavals in the criminal underworld."

According to Kleinknecht, foreign criminals

The New Ethnic Mobs: The Changing Face of Organized Crime in America
by William Kleinknecht
New York: The Free Press
328 pages, $25.00

Russian Organized Crime: The New Threat?
Phil Williams, editor
London & Portland, Oregon: Frank Cass
280 pages, $13.00

Tongs, Gangs and Triads: Chinese Crime Groups in North America
by Peter Huston
Boulder, CO: Paladin Press
280 pages, $30.00

Chinatown Gangs: Extortion, Enterprise & Ethnicity
by Ko-Lin Chin
New York: Oxford University Press
256 pages, $35.00

Wayne Lutton, Ph.D., *is associate editor of* THE SOCIAL CONTRACT *and, along with John Tanton, author of* The Immigration Invasion.

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tend to be more violent than our home-grown variety. For example, readers are introduced to the posses, Jamaican drug dealers who engage in the quaint practice of "jointing" (dismembering people in bathtubs with chainsaws).

Vietnamese gangs, sporting such names as "Born to Kill," "Oriental Killers," and "Cheap Boys," are ruthless, violent, enterprising, and constantly mobile. They first arrived in the U.S. as "refugees" after the fall of Saigon in 1975. Many former South Vietnamese military personnel are involved in felonies ranging from drug dealing, auto theft, credit card, welfare, and Medicaid fraud, to computer chip theft.

Concerning our one-time anti-communist "allies," San Jose, California police sergeant Doug Zwemke is quoted here as observing, "They [Vietnamese] leave no criminal stone unturned. With most ethnic groups you will have a guy who is a burglar, but he isn't macho enough to do robberies. Or you will have a guy who does robberies and he won't commit burglaries. An auto thief is an auto thief. But when you put a Vietnamese robber in prison, you have also put away a burglar, an extortionist, a car thief and an insurance fraud artist. They are doing it all, and that's what separates them from mainstream crooks."

Additional chapters of Kleinknecht's book are devoted to Chinese, Russian, Korean, Cuban, Dominican, Mexican, Arab, and various black criminals. They are not only violent, but this author makes the case that they will likely end up costing the average citizen more than the Italian mafia did in the past.

Law enforcement at all levels is severely handicapped, since few officers are capable of understanding the language and customs of the ethnically "diverse" criminal organizations. And how do you penetrate the new ethnically-based criminal organizations, unless you manage to recruit their own co-nationals? As the author concludes, "Tomorrow's chief racketeers will not be Italian, Chinese, black, Hispanic, or Russian. They will be all of the above...More ominously, these crime groups are showing an increasing propensity for joining forces."

Phil Williams of the University of Pittsburgh has edited a symposium on *Russian Organized Crime*. For the entry of the so-called "Russian Mafia" we can thank the Cold War politics of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, signed into law by President Ford. This act required the Soviet Union to grant exit visas to Jews in order to trade with the U.S. Despite the collapse of the USSR, Russian Jews and some Evangelical Christians are still permitted to enter as special "refugees" [apparently fleeing the on-set of democracy].

"Law enforcement at all levels is severely handicapped since few officers are capable of understanding the language and customs of the ethnically 'diverse' criminal organizations."

The contributors to *Russian Organized Crime* agree that criminal organizations have emerged as a major factor in Russian politics and the Russian economy. There is not one "Mafia"-type organization there. Rather, various groups, almost all of them ethnically-based, have informally divided Russia into territorial zones of influence. St. Petersburg, to cite a representative case, is beset by Tamboy, Chechen, and Kazan gangs.

This would be of relatively little concern to Americans were it not for the fact that various Russian criminal elements have been permitted to migrate to this country posing as "refugees," as legal immigrants of various classifications, or as "tourists" and "students" who overstay their visas.

First congregating in the Brighton Beach section of greater New York, "Russian" networks have spread to Florida, California, and the Northern Pacific Coast region. They have been involved in lucrative fuel-tax swindles, drug trafficking, credit card counterfeiting, insurance and health care fraud, as well as car theft, contract murders, and extortion of athletes.

Alan Block, a criminologist out of UCLA, frankly states that Russian criminal organizations could not flourish in the New York Metropolitan area without the help of local and state politicians. He recounts that Governor Mario Cuomo was publicly tied to

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organized crime and that his son, Andrew, who ran his father's two gubernatorial campaigns, accepted contributions from Russian/American sham corporations engaged in fuel tax fraud. Just how far the official corruption extends has yet to be determined.

Peter Huston, a student of Asian culture, has written an excellent summary of the work of Chinese crime groups now operating in North America. Opening with a review of pertinent Chinese history and cultural patterns, he discusses the importance to Chinese of the sense of fatalism, of tradition, and concern for maintaining social order ("getting along" without rocking the boat, if you will). Huston explains how "saving face" plays a role in criminal relationships.

Other chapters present a detailed history of Chinese secret societies, their role in political events in the 20th century, and how they became involved in international criminal activity. There is no clear distinction between politics and crime. The two go together—as they do in many other countries. [As I write this, a front-page story in the *London Daily Telegraph* for 19 November 1997 is headlined, "Criminal cash 'put Clinton in White House'"].

The author then devotes attention to the various criminal enterprises Chinese are involved with in the United States and Canada, such as the drug trade. An entire chapter is concerned with the smuggling of illegal aliens. Other Asian criminal gangs are also considered.

Ko-lin Chin, a professor in the School of Criminal Justice at Rutger's University, has written a remarkable account of New York City's Chinese criminal underworld, *Chinatown Gangs*. Gangs have a long history in China. They came to the U.S. with the first Chinese coolies in the mid-19th century and flourished here until Chinese immigration ended with the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. The post-1965 renewal of Asian immigration has led to the rebirth of Chinese criminal activity in North America.

Professor Chin contends that a shadow government controls American Chinatowns, where there is no clear distinction between the legal and illegal sectors of society. Criminal organizations are inexorably linked to Chinatown's political economy.

New York City's Chinatown is dominated by six adult organizations. They hire younger criminals as street muscle and to carry out the extortion of protection money from businesses operating in their respective territories (commonly extending for a city block or two). The majority of Chinese tend to see this extortion as just another cost of doing business. Indeed, as the author notes, Chinese entrepreneurs look upon American city health and building inspectors with greater loathing than the criminal gangs who shake them down.

In addition to extortion and drug trafficking, smuggling Chinese aliens into the U.S. has become increasingly lucrative. Smugglers charge an average of $30,000 per person for what is a relatively risk-free endeavor (under current U.S. law, the penalty for smuggling aliens is a fraction of what it is for dealing in drugs).

In recent years, Chin reports, the American public has been subjected to a massive deception campaign conducted by gang-affiliated tongs. They hope to convince outsiders that the tongs are merely patriotic benevolent associations. This effort has met with great success, and has helped blunt attempts to curtail Chinese crime in America.

Denying entry to foreign criminals and the rapid deportation from America of convicted felons are high on Professor Chin's list of recommendations for dealing with this problem. He emphasizes that the ability of the INS to deport Chinese criminal aliens has been subverted by Congressional interference and specific Presidential orders, such as the granting of blanket protection to so-called "pro-democracy" demonstrators.

Law enforcement professionals in the U.S. and other Western countries are demanding that more resources be devoted to the problems now associated with international organized crime. However, no where have I heard them call for an end (or even a moratorium) on further immigration as a crime-fighting tool.

In truth, we should not be experiencing a new alien crime wave. It is well to remind ourselves that these are people we have no duty to admit to our country in the first place. We owe neither them nor their respective homelands anything. These are folks who simply should not be here. But they are, and in growing numbers, thanks to the successful efforts of the pro-mass immigration coalition of ethnic, business, religious, and political special interests.

TSC

[*Each of these four books is available at The Social Contract Press — see the ad inside the back cover.*]

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The Bulletin Board

Population Growth, Environmental Concerns and Immigration on the Internet

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT journal and THE SOCIAL CONTRACT PRESS are on the internet. Our address is: **www.tscpress.com**.

Our home page gives our mission statement, information about THE SOCIAL CONTRACT, a list of books for sale, editorials from several immediately previous issues which highlight the contents of each, plus the internet addresses of other groups working on immigration reform, population control and national unity questions.

This home page, www.tscpress.com, also hosts the newsletter of the Biocentric Institute edited by William Dickinson — the Biocentric Institute also has its own web site at <ultralink/net/IAPM>.

Of primary importance to our readers will be the forthcoming vote among members of the Sierra Club as to whether that organization should champion immigration reform. To learn more of the campaign contact Sierrans for Population Stabilization at www.ecofuture.org/ecofuture/.

And by all means, click onto the Archer Daniels Midland site at www.admworld.com. They have a population clock ticking away to show how important is their mission to feed the burgeoning population of the world.

Here are some other sites that readers may be interested in exploring:

- Philip Martin publishes *Migration News* and can be reached at <migration.ucdavis.edu>.
- Professor Norman Matloff has many articles and a great deal of data at:<heather.cs.ucdavis.edu/pub/Immigration/Index/html>.
- Joseph Daleiden heads the Midwest Coalition to Reform Immigration. His web site is: <www.enteract.com/~mcri97>.
- Glenn Spencer leads Voices of Citizens Together at: <www.instanet.com/~vct>.
- *People and Place* is a journal published by the Centre for Population andUrban Research at Monash University in Australia. They can be reached at <www.swin.edu.au/sbs/pub/pnp>.
- GRIP — Georgians for Responsible Immigration Policy: http://micromgt.home.mindspring.com/grip/.
- Aliens in IOWA! Contains an interview with Steve Rapp, U.S. Attorney for the Northern District in Iowa: www.fyiowa.com/aliens/alien005.htm.
- PEG is the Political Ecology Group, founders of the "Immigration and Environment Campaign" — a pro-open borders initiative: www.igc.org/peg.
- *Mankind Quarterly* — <mankind.org>.
- The Aztlan Organization is at <aztlan.org>.
- <fedpub.com/immigration> brings up Federal Publications, Inc. which has a sub-heading for developments in immigration law.
- The American Immigration Lawyers Association is at <aila.org/home.htm>.
- <cofcc.org> reaches the Council of Conservative Citizens.
- <lra.com/swtaboo/index.html> is based on Garrett Hardin's idea of "stalking the wild taboo."
- "Immigration by the Numbers" continues the thrust of Roy Beck's video at <numbersusa.com>.
- <amren.com> reaches American Renaissance.
- *Politically Incorrect — An On-line Magazine* is at <cyad.com/cvgibin/pinc/july97/index.html>.

E-mail addresses for pertinent organizations include:

- <fair@fairus.org> The Federation for American Immigration Reform
- <center@cis.org> Center for Immigration Studies (CIS)
- <103527.3545@compuserve.com> Negative Population Growth (NPG)
- <ccn@igc.apc.org> Carrying Capacity Network (CCN)
- <caps@calweb.com> Californians for Population Stabilization (CAPS)
- THE SOCIAL CONTRACT's e-mail address is <soccon@freeway.net>.

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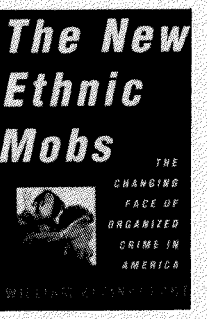
Four new books about crime in America and its relation to mass immigration.

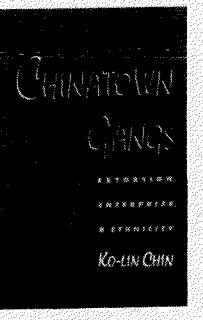
THE NEW ETHNIC MOBS: THE CHANGING FACE OF ORGANIZED CRIME IN AMERICA
William Kleinknecht



Where at one time, the Mafia provided a sort of stability to the rackets of the criminal underworld, that stability no longer exists. Today, with the emergence of Chinese, Russian, Korean, Vietnamese, Mexican, Cuban, Arabic and Black ethnic crime groups, the criminal underworld is being taken over by a new breed of immigrant mobsters.

The Free Press, 1996, 328 pages, hardcover, $25.00

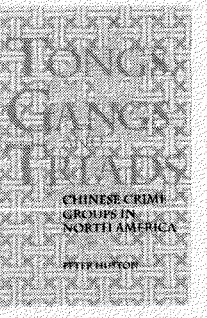
CHINATOWN GANGS
EXTORTION, ENTERPRISE & ETHNICITY
Ko-Lin Chin



Ko-lin Chin penetrates the closed society of New York City's Chinatown underworld, presenting a rare portrait of its innerworkings. He uncovers the fear gangs instill in the Chinese community and shows how the economic viability of the community is sapped, and how gangs encourage lawlessness, making a mockery of American law enforcement agencies.

Oxford University Press, 1996, 256 pages, hardcover, $35.00

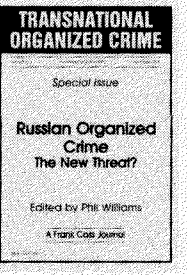
TONGS, GANGS, AND TRIADS
CHINESE CRIME GROUPS IN NORTH AMERICA
Peter Huston



In this book author Peter Huston explores the rich Chinese tradition of secret societies and their frequent involvement in organized crime, as well as their more recent and growing collusion with Chinatown street gangs. He examines how the nuances of Chinese culture and the deep-rooted plight of Chinatown society not only present a serious obstacle to fighting Chinese organized crime but even serve to fuel its growth.

Paladin Press, 1995, 280 pages, softcover, $30.00

RUSSIAN ORGANIZED CRIME: THE NEW THREAT?
A SPECIAL ISSUE OF THE JOURNAL OF TRANSNATIONAL ORGANIZED CRIME



This collection of articles covers everything from the organization of the mafia in Russia to its impact on the United States, including recent trends in nuclear smuggling.

Frank Cass, 1996, 270 pages, softcover, $13.00

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